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THE HISTORY OF ITALY,

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence*.

IN TWENTY BOOKS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH by the

Chevalier AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,

Knight of the Military Order of St. *Stephen*.

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Francesco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK III.

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THE dishonourable Return of the *French* King to the other side of the *Alps*, tho' it had proceeded rather from Indiscretion and *A. D.* 1495.

A. D. 1495. ill-weighed Counſels, than from the Puſillanimity, or Weakneſs of his Forces, gave great Hopes to the People, that *Italy* would be reſtored to its priſtine Tranquillity, and intirely freed from the inſolent Dominion of the *French*. The Conduct of the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*'s Reſolution and Wiſdom were cried up to the Skies. Every one allowed, that it was through their Means ſo fine a Country had narrowly eſcaped being enſlaved by Foreigners. The People's Expectations of a laſting Proſperity were juſtly grounded; but their Deliverers, blinded by ambitious Views, and which in the End proved hurtful to themſelves, infamouſly ſacrificed the Public Good to Private Intereſt, and inſtead of confirming and eſtabliſhing by their Counſels and Arms the peaceable Proſpect they had procured, made uſe of their Power to bring farther Calamities on their Country. Ambition, which would not ſuffer them to remain contented within their proper Bounds, ſoon threw every thing again into Confuſion, and prevented their reaping the Fruits of a Victory they had afterwards

wards obtained againſt the *French* who were left in the Kingdom of *Naples*: A Victory made eaſy, through the Negligence of *Charles*, and the Weakneſs of his Counſels; for his Army was not ſupplied with Proviſions, and was diſappointed of the Succours promiſed by the *Florentines*. *A. D.* 1495.

LODOVICO laid no Streſs on this Peace; he well knew how he had offended the King, and that the nature of his Offence was ſuch, that he ſhould never be forgiven. It had been purely out of a Deſire of recovering *Novara*, and freeing his own Territory from the *French*, that he had been induced to promiſe what he never intended to perform; nor is there any Reaſon to doubt but that the *Venetians* gave their Conſent to this Peace, only becauſe it relieved them from the immenſe Expence they were at in the *Novareſe*. However *Lodovico* did not think proper as yet to declare his Mind, but wait till a ſeaſonable Opportunity offered; and therefore fulfilled all thoſe Articles of the Capitulation, which might be ſaid to be

A. D. 1495. in his immediate Power to comply with. He gave Hoſtages, ſet the Priſoners at Liberty, paying their Ranſom to the Captors with his own Money, reſtored the Ships taken at *Rapalle*, removed *Fracaſſa* from *Piſa*, as he could no longer conceal his acting there under his Direction; and within the Month delivered the *Caſtelletto* of *Genoa* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who went in Perſon to receive it. But on the other hand, he left *Lucio Malvezzo* in *Piſa* with a good Body of Troops, pretending he was in the *Genoeſe* Pay, and permitted two armed Veſſels to ſail from *Genoa* to *Naples* for *Ferdinando*'s Service; excuſing himſelf, that they were equipped before the Peace, and that now he had not a ſufficient Power to hinder the *Genoeſe* from taking their own Courſe: He alſo ſecretly perſuaded them not to ſend the Hoſtages. But what moſtly contributed to the Loſs of the Caſtles of *Naples*, was the Delay which he artfully procured to be made in ſending out the Six Ships which were deſtined for their Succour. For as ſoon as the King had armed his Four Ships, and *Lodovico* the

the Two he had engaged for, he prevailed on the *Genoeſe* to pretend to be alarmed, and oppoſe their being manned with *French* Soldiers, unleſs the King would give Security, that the Ships ſhould be reſtored them, and that they ſhould not be employed againſt themſelves. *Charles* made heavy Complaints to *Lodovico* of theſe Proceedings: His Anſwer was, that he had fulfilled his Engagement by arming his Two Veſſels, for no mention was then made that *French* Troops were to be put on board them; and as the Command he had in *Genoa* was not abſolute, but limited, it was not in his Power to oblige the *Genoeſe* to act in every thing as he pleaſed; and more eſpecially in what they pretended had an immediate Tendency to endanger their Liberties and Safety. To give a greater Force to theſe Excuſes, he prevailed on the Pope to order the *Genoeſe* and himſelf, under Pain of Excommunication, not to let any armed Veſſel belonging to the *French* go out of the Port of *Genoa*. Theſe were the Means by which the *French* in *Naples* were fruſtrated of their chief Succour. *A. D.* 1495.

A. D. 1495.

LODOVICO obſtructed likewiſe the Aſſiſtance they expected from the *Florentines*, both of Men and Money; for as ſoon as the Treaty before-mentioned was ſigned at *Turin*, *Guido Antonio Veſpucci* one of the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, ſet out with all Expedition with the Articles; but in paſſing through the Dutchy of *Milan*, where he imagined himſelf ſecure, as his Maſters had been neuter, he was ſtopped by the Duke's Order at *Alexandria*, rifled of all his Papers, and brought to *Milan*. At the Time the *French* quitted *Piſa*, the *Piſans* had ſent to the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan* to implore their Aſſiſtance, and now, with the Approbation of all the Miniſters of the Allies, they came to a Reſolution, not to ſuffer *Piſa* to fall into the Hands of the *Florentines*; for on Peruſal of the *Turin* Treaty, they found, that as ſoon as *Piſa* and its Territory were reduced, the *Florentines* engaged to provide the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples* with Men and Money. They were all apprehenſive that the *Florentines* would become too powerful with

with the Acquiſition of *Piſa*, and that their Union with *France*, when they were diſengaged from a *Piſan* War, might endanger the Liberties of *Italy*. A. D. 1495.

BUT the principal View, both of the *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, was to get *Piſa* into their own Poſſeſſion. The laſt had long ſince a Deſign on that State; and the *Venetians*, at the Diſſolution of the formidable League made againſt them, began to entertain Thoughts and Hopes of making themſelves Sovereigns of *Italy*, and imagined *Piſa* a very proper Place to begin with, on account of the Conveniency of the Haven of *Livorno*, which they knew could not be long preſerved by the *Florentines*, unleſs they were Maſters of *Piſa*; and this Port would give them the Command of the *Mediterranean*, and the City of *Piſa* an eaſy Inlet into *Tuſcany*.

BUT the Duke of *Milan* was beforehand with them, and at the very Time he was amuſing the *Florentines* with vain Hopes of his Concurrence into their Meaſures,

A. D. 1495. Meaſures, he ordered his General *Fracaſſa*, who had an Eſtate in the *Piſan*, to go thither under a Pretence of looking after his Affairs; and from *Genoa* he ſent a freſh Supply of Troops.

THE *Piſans* were likewiſe fed with Hopes by the *Venetians*, who diſpatched one of their Secretaries to *Genoa*, to intreat that Republic not to abandon the *Piſans*, and to levy Men: But they proceeded very ſlow in ſending them, thinking, perhaps, that whilſt the Citadel was in Poſſeſſion of the *French*, who were ſtill in *Piedmont*, there was no great Foundation to be laid on their Project.

AS ſoon as the *Florentines* had heard of the Treaty being ſigned at *Turin*, they augmented their Forces, to be in a Condition of obliging the *Piſans* to comply immediately with the King's Orders when the Treaty ſhould arrive; which being retarded by the Seizure of their Ambaſſador, they were determined to loſe no Time, but took the Caſtle of *Palaia*, and then encamped before *Vico Piſano*. But either through

through Miſconduct, or for want of a ſufficient Force to act on the Side of *Piſa*, where the *Piſans* had erected a Fort, they miſcarried in the Siege of this Place. They inveſted it from *Bientina*, from whence they could do little Damage, for the Town kept an open Communication with *Piſa* and *Caſcina*. Another Cauſe of their ill Succeſs was owing to *Pagolo Vitelli*, who, after receiving Three Thouſand Ducats from the *Piſans*, entered *Vico* with his own and his Brother's Regiment, pretending to have received Letters from the King, and from the General of *Languedoc* (Brother to the Cardinal of St. *Malo*) who lay ſick at *Pietra Santa*, to protect *Piſa* and its Territory till he received contrary Orders. It appeared very ſurpriſing, that the *Piſans* ſhould be protected by the *French* and *Milaneſe* Forces at the ſame Time, and be alſo encouraged by the *Venetians*, whilſt that Senate and the Duke of *Milan* were in open War with the King of *France*. *Vitelli*'s Reinforcement ſecured the Town, and the Artillery did ſuch Execution amongſt the *Florentines*, who

A. D. 1495.

lay

A. D. 1495. lay in the open Field without Entrenchments, that in a few Days they were obliged to raiſe the Siege with no ſmall Loſs of their Credit.

Livorno reſtored to the *Florentines.*

IN the mean time the Treaty of *Turin* arrived, Duplicates of which had been ſecretly ſent by different Roads; in conſequence thereof, *Saillant* the Lieutenant-Governor of *Livorno* under *Beaumont*, who had been placed there by the King, conſigned that Port, Town, and Caſtle to the *Florentines*; and Monſ. *De l'Iſle*, the Commiſſary appointed to receive the Ratification of the *Turin* Treaty, began to conſult with *Entragues* the Governor of the Citadel of *Piſa*, *Pietra Santa*, and *Murone* about the Manner and Time of their Delivery. But the Governor raiſed various Difficulties, either becauſe the *Piſans* had gained his Affection, as they had in general that of all the *French*; or that he had received ſecret Orders from *Ligni*, whoſe Creature he was, and to whom he was indebted for the Poſt he held; or from an Affection he bore to the Daughter of *Luca di Lante*, a Citizen of

of *Piſa*; for it was not likely that he ſhould have been bribed by the *Piſans* at a Time they would have been out-bid by the *Florentines*. Sometimes he would give a ſtrained Conſtruction to the King's Letter; then pretended to have ſecret Orders not to make any Innovation until he received a private Token from *Ligni*. This Wrangling laſted ſeveral Days, until at laſt the *Florentines* were obliged to ſend to the King, who was ſtill at *Vercelli*, to deſire he would put an End to an Affair that was both injurious to them, and very much to his Majeſty's Diſcredit. *A. D.* 1495.

THE King was exceeding angry at *Entragues*'s Diſobedience, and, with no ſmall Reſentment, ordered *Ligni* to make his Intentions known to him, and ſee them carried into Execution. He intended to ſend a Perſon of Note with theſe freſh Orders, and a preſſing Letter from the Duke of *Orleans*, who was *Entragues*'s Liege-Lord. But *Ligni*'s Authority and Obſtinacy got the better of the King. His Diſpatches were detained ſome Days, and then were not carried by a Perſon of Diſtinction,

A. D. 1495. Diſtinction, but by *Lancepugne*, a private Gentleman. *Camillo Vitelli* ſet out with him, who was commiſſioned to receive the Money ſtipulated by the *Florentines*, and proceed directly to *Naples* with his Regiment, which, on the firſt Notice of the Treaty of *Turin*, had quitted the *Piſans*, and joined the *Florentines*.

Entragues refuſes to obey the King's Orders.

THESE Diſpatches had no better Effect than the former, altho' the *Florentines* had given *Entragues* Two Thouſand Ducats for the Subſiſtance of his Troops till the King's Anſwer arrived. *Camillo* got alſo a Preſent of Three Thouſand Ducats; without which he would have prevented the Delivery of the King's Letters. *Entragues*, by his manner of acting, was ſuppoſed to have received, by ſome bye Way, contrary Directions from *Ligni*; for after ſeveral Days wrangling with the *Florentine* Commiſſaries, he thought of gaining his Point, without ſeeming to refuſe obeying the King's Commands. The Suburb of St. *Marco* leads to the *Florentine* Gate, which is contiguous to the Citadel, and the *Piſans*, with the Governor's

Governor's Permiſſion, had erected a Fort at the Entrance of this Suburb. They had, beſides their Townſmen and a vaſt number of Peaſants, a Thouſand Foreign Troops in their Pay; which made *Entragues* imagine them ſtrong enough to repel the *Florentines* from the Fort: On this Suppoſition he ſent to the *Florentine* Commiſſaries, to let them know they might come up to the *Florentine* Gate with their Army, and take Poſſeſſion of *Piſa*; for if the *Piſans* offered to make any Reſiſtance, he was determined to fire on them from the Citadel. The *Florentines* gladly embraced the Invitation, and advanced from their Camp at *San Remidio*, which was not far from the above-mentioned Fort; and being informed by *Pagolo Vitelli* of the Diſpoſition of the Enemies Works, they aſſaulted the Fort in Three different Places with ſuch Vigour, that they ſoon put the *Piſans* to Flight, purſued them, and entered pelmel with them over the Draw-Bridge into the Suburb, killing and making Priſoners all they overtook; and they expected that Inſtant to perfect the Conqueſt of *Piſa*, ſeveral

A. D. 1495.

Invites the *Florentines* to attack *Piſa*.

A. D. 1495. ſeveral of their Men at Arms having got through the Gate into the Town without meeting with any Oppoſition. But *Entragues* finding Things go contrary to his Wiſhes and Intention, ordered the Cannon of the Citadel to fire on the *Florentines*. They, amazed at the Treachery, after many of their Men had been killed, and more wounded, (and amongſt the laſt *Pagolo Vitelli* in his Leg) deſpairing to take the Town while the Citadel oppoſed them, beat a Retreat. For a few Days they kept Poſſeſſion of the Suburb, but not being able to withſtand the Force of the Artillery that continually played upon them, were obliged at laſt to abandon it, and retire to *Caſcina*, intending to wait there till the King ſhould be appriſed of theſe extraordinary Proceedings.

Entragues fires on the *Florentines.*

THE *Florentines* in the mean time had many other Difficulties to ſtruggle with: The Colleagues were jealous of their becoming again Maſters of *Piſa*, and of their Alliance with *France*, and therefore encouraged *Piero de Medici* to get himſelf

ſelf reſtored into *Florence*, with the Help of *Virginio Orſini*, who had eſcaped from the *French* the Day of the Battle of the *Taro*, and was retired to *Bracciano*. They were both eaſily perſuaded, for *Virginio*, let the Event be what it would, had an Opportunity, at his Friends Expence, of getting together his Partiſans and old Soldiers, which would make him conſiderable: And *Piero*, as it is cuſtomary for Fugitives to embrace all offers, imagined the Party attached to his Family, which for a great Number of Years had lived with ſo much Grandeur in the State of *Florence*, was numerous and ſtrong, and the new popular Government ſo odious to many of the Nobility, that he could not fail of Succeſs.

A. D. 1495.

Piero de Medici encouraged by the Allies to return to *Florence*.

IT was thought this Treaty had its Riſe in *Milan*, for when *Virginio* made his Eſcape, he went directly to that Duke; but it was perfected in *Rome* by the Pope, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, and Cardinal *Aſcanio*, who acted by *Lodovico*'s Direction. The Grounds *Piero* went upon were theſe; he had amaſſed together, what with his

A. D. 1495. own and Friends Money, Ten Thouſand Ducats; and beſides the Aſſiſtance of *Virginio*, *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who received an annual Subſidy from the *Venetians* and the Duke, was to attack the *Florentines* on the Side of *Bologna*, whilſt *Caterina Sforza*, whoſe Children were in *Lodovico*'s Army, was to moleſt them from *Imola* and *Forli*, which borders on their Dominions. There was alſo good Reaſon to think that the *Seneſe* would join them from their inveterate Hatred to the *Florentines*, and alſo in Hopes of preſerving *Montepulciano*, which they knew they could not do with their own Force; for they had lately experienced, that even with the Aſſiſtance of the Lord of *Piombino* and *Gio. Savelli*, they had not been able to get Poſſeſſion of the Paſs of the *Chiane*, which lies in the Marſhes on the Borders of their Dominions. In order to obtain it, the *Seneſe*, a few Months before, were building a Fort near the Bridge of *Valiano*, which would have commanded another Fort of the Enemy that faced *Montipulciano*; but the *Florentines* being ſenſible, that whilſt the *Seneſe* were in Poſſeſſion

Poſſeſſion of that Bridge, they ſhould not only be deprived of the Means of moleſting *Montepulciano*, but ſhould alſo leave an Inlet into *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, and other Parts of their Dominions, they ſent a Body of Troops and deſtroyed the Fort that was building, and erected another themſelves, large enough to contain a ſufficient Garriſon, and from thence made Excurſions all over that Neighbourhood, and near *Montepulciano* broke *Giovanni Savelli*'s Regiment, and took him Priſoner. A. D. 1495.

VIRGINIO and *Piero* expected alſo ſome Help from *Perugia*, not only becauſe the *Baglioni*, who diſpotically governed that City, were related to *Virginio*; but as they were of the *Guelph* Party, they had ever been in Amity with the *Medici* Family: Beſides, both *Lorenzo* and *Piero* in his Proſperity, had never neglected any Opportunity of aſſiſting them againſt their Enemies. *Perugia* was ſubject to the Holy See, but rather ſo in Appearance than in Effect; yet as the aſſiſting *Piero* ſeemed no ways to interfere with the Government of their City, it was thought

A. D. 1495. the *Perugians* could not well deny the Pope's Requeſt in Favour of *Piero*, eſpecially as it was backed by the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan*.

ON theſe Grounds *Piero* and *Virginio* ſet out from the *Roman* Territory, in great hopes that the *Florentines*, divided amongſt themſelves, and alarmed at their being attacked by ſo many of their Neighbours, acting under the Authority of the Allies, would not be able to reſiſt. After halting a few Days about *Terni* and *Todi*, where *Virginio* collected Money and Men from his Friends the *Guelfs*, and humbled, at the ſame Time, the *Ghibellines*, they lay ſiege to *Gualdo* to gratify the *Perugians*, who had lately bought it of the Pope for Six Thouſand Ducats, but by the Community of *Foligno* were not permitted to take Poſſeſſion of it*. This Affair put in Motion all the Inhabitants of that Diſtrict; not ſo much for the Importance that *Gualdo* was to any Party, but becauſe it

* *Foligno* is a City at a ſmall Diſtance from *Perugia*, where the Merchants deal more largely with *England* for Woollen Goods than thoſe of any other Inland Town in *Italy*.

it adminiſtred an Occaſion for Contention. *A. D.* 1495.
The *Baglioni* in *Perugia* had got the better of, and expelled the *Oddi*, who were at the Head of the oppoſite Faction; theſe, accompanied by ſome Horſe and Foot of the *Ghibellines* of *Foligno*, *Aſſiſi*, and other Villages, had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Corciano*, a ſtrong Place within Five Miles of *Perugia*, and the *Guelfs* of *Spoletto* *Camerino*, and all the Neighbourhood roſe in Favour of the *Baglioni*: But the *Oddi* found Means one Night of getting into *Perugia*, and ſo alarmed their Enemies, that they deſpaired of defending themſelves, and began to retire: But, a ſudden and trivial Accident deprived the *Oddi* of a Victory, which the Power of their Enemies could not have done; for after they had got to the Top of the Street that leads into the principal Square, one of their Party, not being able for the Crowd of his Companions about him, to cut the Chain that went acroſs the Street, with an Axe he had brought with him for that Purpoſe, cried out aloud, *Keep back, keep back!* Thoſe behind taking his Words for an Order, repeated them from

A. D. 1495. one to another, and in an Inſtant they all fled, without knowing wherefore. The *Guelfs* took the Advantage of this Confuſion, followed them, killed ſeveral, and took Priſoner *Troilo Savelli*, a Nobleman ſent thither by the Cardinal of that Name, who was a violent *Ghibelline:* They ſoon expelled the *Oddi* from *Corciano*, and not ſatiated with the Numbers they had killed, they brought ſeveral to *Perugia*, and hanged them with that Cruelty, ſo common amongſt Factions when any one Side gets the better. This Affair occaſioned ſeveral Maſſacres in other neighbouring Towns and Villages, that took up Arms, and the Party which proved the ſtrongeſt, either out of a Spirit of Revenge, or Fear of being, at ſome other Time, ſurpriſed themſelves, put great Numbers to Death. The *Perugians*, who had before beſieged *Gualdo*, and been repulſed in an Aſſault they had given, now joined *Virginio*, who imagined the News of ſo many Forces united, would draw People together in hopes of Plunder; and, at the ſame Time, give him an Opportunity of augmenting his Army.

A. D. 1495.

BUT the *Perugians*, notwithſtanding their Obligations to *Piero* and *Virginio*, refuſed to declare in their Favour, or to lend them a few Pieces of Artillery; nor would they permit them to quarter their Men in *Caſtiglione del Lago*, that bordered on the *Cortoneſe*, nor even let them provide themſelves with Proviſions in their Territory, altho' Cardinal *Aſcanio* preſſed them to it in *Lodovico*'s Name, and the Pope commanded it with threatning Briefs. The Reaſon was, that after the *Perugians* had taken *Corciano*, the *Florentines* ſupplied them with ſome Money, aſſigned Penſions to *Guido* and *Ridolfo*, two of the chief Heads of the *Baglioni*, and had taken *Gianpagolo*, *Ridolfo*'s Son, into their Pay. Beſides, they knew the Pope protected their Adverſaries, and had Reaſon to ſuſpect he deſigned ſubjecting their City to the deſpotic Government of the Holy See.

A Plot againſt *Cortona*.

IN the mean time *Pagolo Orſini*, who had been at *Montepulciano*, and was now at *Pieve* with *Virginio*'s beſt Men at Arms,

A. D. 1495. was commiſſioned by *Piero* to treat with the City of *Cortona*, and to diſpoſe the Citizens to ſurrender to him their Town when the Army approached, which neither in Number or Bravery was any way equal to what had been expected. This Treaty was diſcovered to the *Florentines* by a mean Fugitive, which both leſſened *Piero*'s Hopes, and put him under greater Difficulties; for the *Florentines* detached immediately Two Hundred Men at Arms and a Thouſand Foot from their Camp at *Piſa*, (where there ſtill remained Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thouſand Foot) and ſent them to *Cortona*, under the Command of Count *Rinnuccio Marciano*. Next, to prevent the *Seneſe* from joining *Virginio*, as they were informed was their Deſign, they ordered Three Hundred Men at Arms and Fifteen Hundred Foot to advance to *Poggio Imperiale* under *Guido Ubaldo di Monteſeltro*, Duke of *Urbino*, whom they had lately taken into their Pay; and to fill *Sienna* with greater Terror, they ſent with him all the diſcontented and outlawed *Seneſe*, who were numerous.

VIRGINIO,

VIRGINIO, after giving ſeveral Aſſaults to *Gualdo*, in one of which *Charles*, his natural Son, was wounded, bribed, as was thought, by thoſe of *Foligno*, decamped without making any Terms in Favour of the *Perugians*, and marched firſt to *Tavernelle* and then to *Panicale* in the Territory of *Perugia*, from whence he ſent to the *Perugians*, inſiſting they ſhould declare againſt the *Florentines*, which they not only refuſed, but, exaſperated at his late Behaviour at *Gualdo*, with Threats, in a manner, obliged him to quit their Territory. *A. D.* 1495. *Virginio* raiſes the Siege of *Gualdo*.

PIERO and *Virginio*, with Four Hundred Horſe, advanced to *Orſaia* * near *Cortona*, in hopes, that as that City (not willing to be burthened with Soldiers) had refuſed to admit the *Florentine* Men at Arms, it might declare in their Favour. But when they found themſelves miſtaken, they

* *Orſaia*, more properly *Oſſaia*, from the Quantity of Bones that are found there; it being the Place called *Traſimene*, now the Lake of *Perugia*, where *Hannibal* gained a ſignal Battle over the *Romans*. At a ſmall Diſtance there is a River or Torrent, called *Sanguineto*, from a Report of its having ran Blood the Day of the Battle.

A. D. 1495. they paſſed the *Chiane* with Three Hundred Men at Arms and Three Thouſand Foot, that were in a bad Condition, as having been inliſted in a Hurry, and with little Money. They poſted themſelves in the *Senoſe* near *Montepulciano*, between *Chianciano*, *Torrila*, and *Aſina Lunga*, where, excepting a few Excurſions to procure Proviſions, they remained ſome Days inactive: For the *Florentines* had paſſed the *Chiane* at the Bridge of *Valiano*, and formed a Camp in their Front in the Neighbourhood of *San Sovino*.

Bentivoglio declines joining Piero.

IN *Bologna* no regard was paid to what had been promiſed; for *Bentivoglio* was determined not to undertake a dangerous War with a neighbouring and powerful Republic to ſerve other People's Purpoſes: Yet he received *Giuliano de Medici* with great Demonſtrations of Civility, who was come thither to enliſt Men: Nor did he prevent him from treating with his Mountaineers, who were uſed to ſerve under the Family of the *Medici*; but he alledged divers Excuſes

cuſes to the Confederates for his Delays in engaging openly himſelf. A. D. 1495.

THE Allies, indeed, were not intirely of the ſame Mind; for the Duke of *Milan*, altho' pleaſed that the *Florentines* ſhould be ſo employed, as not to have it in their Power to conquer *Piſa*, yet he no ways wiſhed that *Piero de Medici*, whom he had ſo much injured, ſhould return to *Florence*; notwithſtanding that *Piero*, to convince him that he intended to be intirely directed by his Counſels, had ſent his Brother the Cardinal to *Milan*. As for the *Venetians*, they did not chuſe to enter into this War without the Duke; beſides, the principal Care of both, at this Juncture, was in providing all Neceſſaries for expelling the Remainder of the *French* out of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

BY theſe means *Piero* and *Virginio* fruſtrated of all their Hopes, in extreme want of Money, and finding their Forces daily diminiſh, were obliged to retire to *Rapolano* in the Territory of *Chinſi*, belonging

A. D. 1495. longing to *Siena*. Here, as *Virginio*'s Deſtiny would have it, came to him *Camillo Vitelli*, who was ſent by the King of *France* to take him into the *French* Service, and conduct him into the Kingdom of *Naples*; where, after the Deſertion of the *Colonnas*, his Majeſty thought he would be of great Service to his Cauſe. *Virginio*'s Friends did their utmoſt to diſſuade him from accepting this Commiſſion, and preſſed him to join the Confederates, who made him great Offers; or that he would at leaſt return into the Service of the *Arragonians*: But he was determined otherwiſe, either becauſe he hoped, that thro' the *French* Intereſt *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo* would be reſtored him; or becauſe he ſaw the *Colonnas* in ſo high Favour, that he deſpaired of making any Figure at *Ferdinando*'s Court: Or, if we believe the Reaſon he gave himſelf, that he was very much diſſatisfied with the Confederates for failing in their Engagements for the Reſtoration of *Piero de Medici*, he agreed then with the King, who aſſigned the *Orſini* Family Six Hundred Men at Arms; but

Virginio goes into the *French* Service.

on

on Condition he ſent his Son *Charles* as Hoſtage into *France*: Such Hardſhips may be reaſonably expected by thoſe who have rendered their Conduct ſuſpicious, and once broke their Faith. He was ſupplied with Money, and then applied himſelf ſeriouſly to be ready to enter, in Conjunction with *Vitelli*'s Troops, into the Kingdom of *Naples*; where, before and after the Loſs of the Caſtles, there had been many Inſurrections, attended with various Accidents. *A. D.* 1495.

Ferdinando loſes 700 Men at *Giſone*.

We left *Ferdinando* fronting the Enemy in the Plains of *Sarni*; but the *French*, on his Arrival, retired to *Piedigrotta*, and ſtopped at *Nocera*, Four Miles from *Sarni*. Both Armies being pretty equal, the Time was ſpent in Skirmiſhes, without any thing of Moment happening, excepting that Seven Hundred of *Ferdinando*'s Men, between Horſe and Foot, were either killed or taken Priſoners at *Giſone*, a Caſtle near *San Severino*; to which Place they had been decoyed by repeated Aſſurances (as they imagined) from the

A. D. 1495. the Garriſon, that on their Arrival it ſhould be delivered up to them.

Nocera taken by the Arragonians. AFTER this Action the Pope's Troops joined *Ferdinando*, which made him ſuperior to the *French*, who thereupon quitted *Nocera*, which, with the Citadel, was ſoon taken by the *Arragonians*, and great Slaughter was made of thoſe of the *French* Faction.

IN the mean time *Monpenſier* had provided with Horſes and all Accoutrements thoſe Troops he had brought with him from *Caſtelnuovo*; and joining theſe to other Forces, he proceeded to *Ariano*, a Village well furniſhed with Proviſions. *Ferdinando*, by this Junction, was become inferior to the Enemy, and therefore halted at *Montefuſcoli*, with an Intent to be on the Defenſive, and not tempt Fortune, until he was better ſupplied by his Allies. *Monpenſier* made himſelf Maſter of the Town and Fortreſs of *San Severino*; and might with Eaſe have made greater Progreſs, if his Money had not failed him: For there was none ſent from *France*, and he

San Severino taken.

he had no Means of collecting any in the Country. This made his Soldiers uneaſy, particularly the *Swiſs*; and was the Occaſion that he could not make a proper Uſe of his Forces. *A. D.* 1495.

THREE Months paſſed in this Inactivity, whilſt Don *Federigo*, with *Cæſar* of *Arragon*, made War in *Puglia* with the Help of the Country People; againſt them made Head the Barons, and thoſe who were inclined to the *French*. In *Abruzzo* *Gratiano di Guerra* very gallantly defended himſelf againſt Count *Pepoli* and other Barons, Friends to *Ferdinando*: The Prefect of *Rome*, who had the Command of Two Hundred Men at Arms, made Excurſions from his own Territories on *Montecaſino* and its Neighbourhood, where the *French* Affairs began to decline on account of the long Sickneſs of *Aubigny*, which interrupted the Courſe of his Victories: But the beſt part of *Calabria* and of the *Principato* were in the *French* Intereſt. *Gonſalvo* got together the *Spaniards*, and the *Friends* of the *Arragonians*, who, after the Reduction of *Naples*, were become

A. D. 1495. become numerous, took ſeveral Villages, and kept alive in that Province *Ferdinando*'s Name. Here, alſo, the *French* were put to Difficulties for want of Money; yet they recovered and pillaged the City of *Coſenza*, that had rebelled.

In all this Diſtreſs and Danger, there appeared no likelihood of any Aſſiſtance from *France*: For the King ſtopped at *Lyons*, where he gave himſelf up to Tournaments, and all ſorts of Diverſions, without any Concern about the War. He conſtantly gave out, that he would provide for *Italy*; but, in Reality, made no ſort of Preparation.

Argenton returns from his Embaſſy.

About this Time *Argenton* returned from his Embaſſy at *Venice* with that Senate's Anſwer. They declared they had no ſort of Quarrel with his Majeſty; that they took up Arms, indeed, when he had got Poſſeſſion of *Novara*, but that was purely in Defence of the Duke of *Milan*, their Ally; that therefore they thought it needleſs to confirm their antient Friendſhip with a new Peace; eſpecially

as

as the King knew they had privately acquainted him how they were diſpoſed to perſuade *Ferdinando* to give him a large Sum of Money, to pay him a yearly Tribute of Fifty Thouſand Ducats, and to leave *Taranto* in his Hands for a certain Time as a Pledge, if he would quit his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Naples*: But *Charles*, as if he had been at the Head of a powerful Army, refuſed their Offers, altho', beſides the Difficulties of *Italy*, he had great Reaſon to fear he ſhould be attacked on the Borders of his own Kingdom; for *Ferdinando* King of *Spain* was come in Perſon to *Perpignan*, from whence he ordered ſeveral Excurſions to be made into *Languedoc*, where a great deal of Damage was done, and more was expected. At the ſame Time died the Dauphin, the King's only Son. Had *Charles* been capable of making a wiſe Election of War or Peace, all theſe Diſaſters might have inclined him to condeſcend to a reaſonable Accommodation.

A. D. 1495.

King of *Spain* at *Perpignan*

Death of the Dauphin.

AT the latter End of this Year *Entragues* put an End to all farther Diſputes

A. D. 1495. with the *French* concerning the Citadel of *Piſa*; for the King being informed of the Commander's Obſtinacy, ſent Monſ. *Gemel* with Threats and a poſitive Command, not only to him, but to the reſt of his Governors, to comply with his former Orders. Soon after he diſpatched Monſ. *Bonne*, Brother-in-Law to *Entragues*, that he might have no farther Pretence to cavil about the King's Intentions: He was commiſſioned to tell him, that all his paſt Diſobedience ſhould be forgiven on his immediate Compliance; and to threaten him with the Effects of his Majeſty's Anger if he refuſed. But nothing could remove *Entragues* from his firſt Reſolution; he made ſlight of the Meſſage brought him by *Gemel*; who, after waiting ſome Days, according to his Inſtructions, went on with *Camillo Vitelli* to *Virginio Orſini*. Neither had the Arrival of *Bonne*, who had been detained ſeveral Days, by *Lodovico*'s Orders, at *Sarzana*, any better Effect: On the contrary, *Entragues* brought him over to his own Sentiments; and thro' the Means of *Lucio Malvezzi*, Agent to *Lodovico*, he

he made a Contract with the *Piſans*; by Virtue of which he delivered them up their Citadel the Firſt Day of the Year 1496, for Twenty-Thouſand Ducats; Twelve Thouſand he took to his own Share, and the Remainder was divided amongſt the *French* Troops. The *Piſans* were not in a Condition to lay down this Money; on the contrary, they could not levy in their State a Sum ſufficient for their own Occurrences: But, not to loſe ſo fair an Opportunity, they found Means to get Four Thouſand Ducats of the *Venetians*, Four Thouſand of the *Genoeſe* and *Lucheſe*, and Four Thouſand of *Lodovico*; who, at the ſame time, was acting a treacherous part with the *Florentines*; making them believe he was deſirous of entering into a ſolid Peace and Unity with them; and had actually agreed with their Ambaſſador on the Terms.

A. D. 1496.

Entragues delivers the Citadel to the *Piſans*.

IT was not thought likely that *Ligni* and *Entragues* could have acted in this manner without the King's private Order; eſpecially as their Proceedings were palpably againſt the *French* Intereſt: For altho'

A. D. 1496. in the Capitulation it was ſtipulated, that *Piſa* ſhould be ſubject to *France*, yet it was evident it remained now at the Devotion of the Confederates: Moreover, the Reſtitution of it to the *Florentines* taking Effect, the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples* were deprived of that Succour, both of Men and Money, which had been agreed on at the Treaty of *Turin*. Yet the *Florentines*, who were very watchful and attentive to all that paſſed, tho' at firſt they ſuſpected the King's Faith, were at laſt fully perſuaded of the Sincerity of his Intentions; which, indeed, would ſeem incredible to any, who were not acquainted with his Temper and way of Life, the little Authority he had over his Courtiers, and how eaſily Men are emboldened againſt a Prince, who has made himſelf contemptible to his Subjects.

The Citadel of *Piſa* demoliſhed. As ſoon as the *Piſans* got Poſſeſſion of the Citadel, they razed it to the Ground; and knowing their own Strength was not ſufficient for their Defence, they at the ſame time ſent Ambaſſadors to the Pope,

Pope, to the King of the *Romans*, to the *Venetians*, *Sneſe*, *Genoeſe*, *Lucheſe*, and Duke of *Milan*, imploring the Aid of every one; but more preſſingly that of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan*; to whom they had been already inclined to transfer the Juriſdiction of their City; and now, indeed, their Situation was ſuch, that they were no longer in a Condition to treat for their Liberty and Independency, but of the Means that might preſerve them from falling under the *Florentine* Yoke. *Lodovico* ſeemed the propereſt for their Purpoſe, becauſe he had excited them to revolt, and was the neareſt to their Borders; and, in reality, the only one that had vigorouſly ſupplied them, whilſt the other Confederates had only amuſed them with Promiſes. *A. D.* 1496.

The *Piſans* offer their City to *Lodovico*.

BUT the Duke, altho' paſſionately deſirous of the Sovereignty of *Piſa*, could not venture to accept of the Offers made him, for fear of giving too great Offence to the Allies, who treated the Affairs of that City as thoſe of the Common Cauſe: He therefore intreated them to defer their

Who firſt refuſes.

A. D. 1496. Sollicitations, or to ſurrender themſelves to the *San Severini*, until a proper Opportunity offered to make it known, that the *San Severini* had received them only in Truſt for himſelf. But afterwards, imagining he had little to fear from the Confederates, he determined to accept of their Offer.

But afterwards accepts of their Offer

BUT the *Piſans* began now to grow cool with regard to him, when they found the *Venetians* ſo ready to ſerve them: And they were made to believe, they ſhould be ſafer under the Protection of many, than under a ſingle Perſon; and alſo more likely to preſerve their Liberties. The Reſtoration of the Citadel had greatly raiſed their Spirits, and they could not have applied at a properer Juncture to the Potentates of *Italy*; For the *Genoeſe*, *Seneſe*, and *Lucheſe*, out of Hatred and Fear of the *Florentines*, were ready to aſſiſt them; and, to do it effectually, entered into a Treaty with them, in order to ſettle what they were to contribute. The *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, in hopes of annexing *Piſa* to their

The Potentates in general wiſh well to the *Piſans*.

their own Dominions, were ſollicitous to prevent its returning under the *Florentines*: And the Pope and King of *Spain* were pleaſed to ſee the Republic of *Florence* mortified, on account of their Attachment to the *French* Intereſt. They received Encouragement from all Parts, for *Cæſar* confirmed their Liberties; the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan* engaged to preſerve their Liberty in the ſame manner they had done whilſt they were in Subjection to the *French*; and the Pope, in the Name of all, as Head of the League, by a Brief declared they ſhould be powerfully protected by all the Confederates. But the *Venetians* and *Lodovico* gave them effectual Aſſiſtance: The Duke augmented the Troops he had already there; and the Senate furniſhed a good Number of Men: And had they both ſteadily perſevered in their Reſolutions, and continued their Supplies, the *Piſans* would not have lain under the Neceſſity of adhering more to the one than to the other, to the Detriment of the Common Cauſe. The Duke, ever tenacious of his Money, and by Nature inclined to proceed with *A. D.* 1496.

A. D. 1496. Diſſimulation and Artifice, imagining he could not well, at this Juncture, make himſelf Maſter of *Piſa*, began to ſlacken in the Diſburſements neceſſary for their Defence; which obliged them to apply more earneſtly to the *Venetians*, who plentifully provided them with every thing. This had ſuch an Effect on the *Piſans*, that not long after the *French* had delivered the Citadel, they ſent to the *Venetians* to deſire they would take them intirely under their ſole Protection. *Lodovico* was privy to this Treaty, and, far from taking Offence, rather ſeemed to approve of it: But the reſt of their Friends were greatly diſſatisfied; for altho' they had before uſed all their Intereſt to induce the *Venetians* to declare in their Favour, yet they thought themſelves ill-uſed, that the *Piſans* ſhould ſurreptitiouſly, without their Advice or Knowledge, conclude a private Treaty with them.

The *Piſans* give themſelves up to the ſole Protection of the *Venetians*.

But it is moſt certain, that the *Venetians*, neither out of a Deſire of preſerving other People's Liberty, a Thing which they value ſo much in their own Country;

Country; nor out of any Regard to the common Safety, as with fine Speeches they then and afterwards gave out; but from the ſole Deſire of acquiring the Dominion of *Piſa*, were ſo eager to take the *Piſans* into their Protection: They thought they could not fail of getting an abſolute Command over them, and even by their own Conſent, when it ſhould, as of neceſſity it would, come to this alternative, Whether they would be ſubject to the *Florentines*, or to themſelves. *A. D.* 1496.

YET when this Affair was laid before the Senate, a few of the old Senators, venerable for their Age and Authority, retarded for ſome time the Decree, againſt the almoſt general Inclination. They ſaid, The making the Cauſe of *Piſa* their own, would be attended with many Difficulties; becauſe that City was at a great Diſtance from their Borders by Land, but much farther by Sea; before they could get thither, they muſt paſs by the Ports of other Potentates, and ſail all round *Italy*, which would put them to an immenſe

Debates in the *Venetian* Senate.

Reaſons againſt taking the *Piſans* into their Protection.

A. D. 1496. menſe Charge in defending it againſt the continual Attacks of the *Florentines*. It was not to be denied, that this Acquiſition would be a great Addition to their Dominions, but the Difficulties in preſerving it ought firſt to be weighed; as alſo the Condition of the preſent Times, and what Effects ſuch a Reſolution would produce: For as *Italy* was naturally jealous of the *Venetian* Grandeur, ſuch an Increaſe of their Power muſt be very diſpleaſing to every one; and therefore in all Likelihood it would occaſion greater, and more dangerous Accidents, than many perhaps were aware of. They were greatly deceived, who thought that the other Powers would remain idle Spectators, and permit them, who were already formidable, to annex ſo important a State to their Dominions; and if, as in former Times, they were not able to hinder it themſelves, they knew where to apply, ſince the *French* had learned the way to paſs the *Alps*; and that there was not the leaſt Doubt but that they would, on ſuch an Account, be invited, both out of Spite and Fear;

It

It being the Nature of Mankind to chuſe rather to ſubject themſelves to Foreigners, than ſubmit to the uſurped Authority of a Sett of their own People. How could any one imagine that the Duke of *Milan*, actuated ſometimes by Ambition and Hope, ſometimes by Suſpicion and Fear, ſhould not be moved with Diſdain, Anger, and Jealouſy, to ſee transferred to us that Dominion, which, by ſo many Artifices, he has been trying to get for himſelf? He certainly, rather than ſee *Piſa* in our Hands, would put all *Italy* again in Combuſtion. And tho' he may now ſeem not diſſatisfied, and even give his Conſent, it may be very eaſily comprehended, that theſe are not his real Sentiments, but Traps and Snares to deceive us. It would, indeed, be commendable in us to join with *Lodovico* in the Defence of *Piſa*, if on no other account than to prevent the *Piſans* from giving themſelves up to him: But it cannot be prudent to make their Cauſe our own, and draw on ourſelves ſo much Jealouſy and Trouble. They ought to conſider, how contrary this would be to the End propoſed in taking up

A. D. 1496.

A. D. 1496. up Arms; which for many Months had been, and was ſtill intended for the common Safety: No other Motive, than to free *Italy* from Barbarians, * could have induced the Senate to put themſelves to ſo great an Expence and Hazard. That they had begun with great Succeſs; yet as the King was but juſt repaſſed the *Alps*, and had left a powerful Army in the Kingdom of *Naples*, a great part whereof he is ſtill in Poſſeſſion of; how imprudent, and how infamous would it be, if inſtead of bending our Thoughts to eſtabliſh the Peace of *Italy*, we ſhould ſow new Seeds of Diſturbances, that might forward the *French* King's Return, and induce the King of the *Romans*, who, as it was well known, has many Pretenſions on our State, to come into *Italy*, which is the Height of his Deſire. The Republic of *Venice* was not in ſo low a Condition, as to be under a Neceſſity of undertaking dangerous Exploits or unripened Schemes; on the contrary, no other State

* The *Italians*, even in *Guicciardini*'s Time, continued, like the old *Romans*, to give the Name of *Barbarians* to all beyond the *Alps*.

State in *Italy* could better wait for Opportunities and well digeſted Counſels: Precipitate and hazardous Enterprizes ſuited only thoſe that were in Deſpair; or, excited by Ambition, or love of Fame, were fearful they ſhould never have another Opportunity offered them: But their Republic, ſurrounded with Power, Dignity, and Authority, was both envied and feared by all the *Italian* Powers; and, compared with a kingly or princely Government, was perpetual and immortal; no Death or Change ever altering its Name, *The Venetian Senate*: Therefore they ought never to haſten their Reſolutions; it rather became their Wiſdom and Gravity, firſt to weigh the Dangers that are latent under an Offer that gives ſo much Hope and Pleaſure; to conſider the End as well as the Beginning of Things; and then reject raſh Counſels, and abſtain, as well in this preſent Affair of *Piſa*, as on all other Occaſions, from terrifying and irritating their Neighbours; at leaſt till *Italy* is better inſured from her Dangers and Jealouſies of the Ultramontanes; and above all let us give no Cauſe for their Return. A. D. 1496.

A. D. 1496. Return. A few Months Experience has evinced, that all *Italy*, when free from Foreigners, follows the Dictates of this Senate: But when invaded, inſtead of being dreaded, we join in our Fears with the other Potentates.

THESE, and many other ſubſtantial Reaſons, had no ſort of Effect on the Minds of an ambitious Majority; who tamely ſubmitted to the Directions of their Doge *Agoſtino Barbarico*. His Authority exceeded that of any former Doge, and was carried to ſuch a Height, as to deſerve rather the Name of Power than Authority. For beſides his having enjoyed, with uninterrupted Succeſs, that Dignity for ſeveral Years, and his being endowed with excellent Parts, he had artfully gained a great Majority of the Senators, who conſtantly concurred with him in oppoſing thoſe, who by their Prudence and long Experience had obtained the higheſt Poſts in the Government, and were in the greateſt Eſteem with the People. His Followers looked upon him as the Head of their Faction; and without any

any Regard to Integrity, or to the Gravity of the Senatorial Order, blindly came into every Thing he propoſed. *Barbarico* was exceedingly fond of tranſmitting a glorious Name to Poſterity, to which he thought nothing could better contribute than extending the Dominions of the Republick: Nor was he ſatisfied that ſince his Creation the Iſle of *Cyprus*, by the Extinction of the Family of the *Luſignani*, had been annexed to the *Venetian* State, but was ever ambitious of making farther Additions when any Opportunity invited. Under theſe Sentiments he oppoſed thoſe who were againſt taking *Piſa* under the Senate's Protection, and laboured with plauſible Arguments to convince the Senators of the great Advantage that would reſult to the Republic from the Acquiſition of that City; which, he ſaid, would mortify the Arrogance of the *Florentines*; who, after the Death of *Filippo Maria Viſconti*, had prevented them from ſeizing on the Duchy of *Milan*; and who, in the War againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, and on other Occaſions, by ſupplying their Enemies with Money, had

A. D. 1496.

A. D. 1496. had contributed more than any other Potentate to render their Schemes abortive. He ſaid, they would eternally repent the letting ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity. That the *Italian* Powers were, at that Juncture, in ſuch a low Condition, that all united could not hurt their State; nor was it at all likely that, either out of Indignation or Fear, they would have recourſe to *France:* For the Duke of *Milan*, who had ſo much injured the King, would not venture to truſt him. It was plain the Pope had no ſuch Thought: And as for the King of *Naples*, tho' he were in pacific Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, he would ever hear the Name of *France* with Abhorrence. Their ſending Troops into *Piſa*, tho' not pleaſing to the *Italians*, yet would not ſeem to them of ſuch Conſequence as to make them endanger *Italy*, by precipitately applying ſuch Remedies as are uſed only in deſperate Caſes; for in ſlight Indiſpoſitions violent Medicines are never adminiſtered: Thoſe are the laſt Reſort. If, in the preſent weak and diſunited State of the *Italians*, the Senate, out of Fear, ſhould not make the moſt of this

this Opportunity, for obtaining what every one ſo eagerly aſpires at, it will be in vain to attempt it when they ſhall have recovered their priſtine Vigour, and are without Apprehenſions of a foreign Invaſion. The beſt Remedy for vain Fear is to conſider, that all human Undertakings are ſubject to Dangers; but that very ſeldom all the apprehended Evils come to paſs; many by Favour of Fortune or Chance never happen; and others are avoided by Prudence and Induſtry. Therefore we are not to confound, as is the Caſe of many who are ignorant of the true Signification of Words, and Subſtance of Things, Fear with Prudence: Nor pronounce thoſe Politicians ſage, who expecting all imaginary Evils to take Place, regulate their Proceedings accordingly. Such wary Stateſmen are neither prudent nor wiſe; that Character belongs rather to the Brave, who weigh the Dangers; in which they alſo differ from the Raſh, who neither know nor trouble themſelves about them; and after maturely conſidering them, reſolve on an Enterprize, reaſonably expecting they ſhall eſcape, ſome

A. D. 1496.

A. D. 1496. by good Fortune, and others by Steadineſs: Let us, then, in our preſent Deliberation, conſult Hope as well as Fear; and not like the Timerous, terrified with the Shadow of Perils, refuſe ſo advantageous an Offer. Let us lay before our Eyes the Weakneſs and Diſunion of the reſt of the *Italians*, the Power and conſtant good Fortune of the Republic, the Magnanimity and glorious Examples of our Anceſtors, and no longer heſitate to receive the *Piſans* into our Protection, which will ſoon be followed by the abſolute Dominion of their City; and that obtained, will place us on the firſt Step of the *Italian* Throne."

The *Venetians* Decree in Favour of the *Piſans*.

THE Doge had no ſooner finiſhed this Speech, than the Senate, by a public Decree, received the *Piſans* into their Protection; expreſly mentioning, That it was for the Defence of their Liberty. The Duke of *Milan* did not at firſt lay ſo much Streſs on this Reſolution as it deſerved, becauſe his Troops being excluded by this Treaty from the Defence of *Piſa*, he was pleaſed to find himſelf freed

freed from that Expence: Beſides, he thought it his Intereſt to have the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, at the ſame time, put to ſo great a Charge for the Concerns of that City: He perſuaded himſelf, that the *Piſans*, as well out of a Regard for his Power and Situation, as out of Gratitude for the many Services done them, would always incline more to him than to any other. He was become immoderately vain, and little conſidering the Inconſtancy of Human Affairs, was wont to ſay, "He was the Son of *Fortune*, and could manage his Mother as he pleaſed." He was at firſt greatly elated at the proſperous Events of the *French*; and puffed up with the Thoughts, that he ſhould have been able, with his Intereſt, to bring ſo great a King with his Army into *Italy*. He attributed the Removal of *Piero* from the Government of *Florence* to his Intereſt with that Republic, which he had employed to puniſh him for not complying with his Counſels. He thought himſelf the Cauſe of the Rebellion of the *Piſans*, and of the Flight of his Enemies the *Arragonians*; and gloried that, after A. D. 1496.

A. D. 1496. changing Sides, his Counſels and Authority had brought about the Alliance, that was entered into by ſo many Potentates againſt *Charles*; as alſo of the Return of *Ferdinando* into *Naples*, and the Departure of the *French* King from *Italy* on ſuch ignoble Conditions; and that even with the Commander of the Citadel of *Piſa*, his Perſuaſion and Authority had more Sway than the Will and Orders of his Royal Maſter. With the ſame Rule he meaſured future Events; and imagining that in Prudence and Knowledge he was much ſuperior to all the other Powers, flattered himſelf he ſhould always direct the Affairs of *Italy*, and circumvent every one with his Artifices: Nor could he diſſemble this Vanity, either in his Words or Actions. As it was known how much he delighted in the Thoughts, that every one ſhould entertain the ſame Notions of his Abilities, all *Milan* reſounded Day and Night with vain Songs in his Praiſe in *Latin* and *Italian* Verſe. In the Academies his Virtues were celebrated; they flattered his Wiſdom, on which they made the Fate of *Italy*

Italy depend; exalting to the Skies both his Name and his Nick-Name of *Moro*, which was given him in his Youth on account of his ſwarthy Complexion, and the Opinion then entertained of his Cunning, which Name he was pleaſed always to retain *. By his Dexterity and Management he obtained the ſame Influence and Authority in the other Caſtles of the *Florentines* that were in the Hands of the *French*; ſo that he ſeemed to be Arbiter on all Sides. *A. D.* 1496

THE King having heard the Complaints of the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, concerning the Citadel of *Piſa*, to make them ſome Amends, ſent *Robert de Veſle*, a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, with Letters from *Ligni* to all his other Governors, in hopes that at leaſt the other Caſtles would be immediately reſtored them: But his Com- King *Charles*'s Orders ſlighted by his Governors.

* *Moro* in *Italian* ſignifies a Black. *Giovio* ſays he took his Name, not from his Complexion, but from the Mulberry-Tree in his Arms; which in *Italian* is called *Moro*. A Mark of *Ludovico*'s Vanity, was a Picture he hung up in the Caſtle, repreſenting a Queen, on whoſe Robes were delineated all the *Italian* Cities, and himſelf in the Perſon of a Black with Bruſh, rubbing off the Duſt.

A. D. 1496. mands were as little regarded abroad as they were at home, through the ill Diſpoſition of the Commanders, and the bad Example of *Ligni*, who had the Inſolence to give out, that he acted in every thing by his Majeſty's private Directions. The Baſtard of *Bienne*, his Deputy-Governor of *Sarzana*, in the Preſence of the *Florentine* Commiſſaries, who came thither by his Orders to receive the Caſtle, delivered it up to the *Genoeſe* for Twenty-five Thouſand Ducats; and the *Caſtelan* of *Sarzanello* following his Steps, did the ſame for another Sum: *Moro* was the Contriver and Broker of both theſe Contracts, and ſent *Fracaſſa* with a Hundred Horſe and Four Hundred Foot into the *Lunigiana*, which prevented the *Florentines*, who had retaken ſome of their Towns, from recovering the Remainder in thoſe Parts.

Not long after, *Entragues*, who had the Command of the Caſtles of *Pietra Santa*, *Mutrone*, and *Librafatta*, gave up the laſt to the *Piſans*, and ſold the other

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two to the *Lucheſe* for Twenty-ſix Thouſand Ducats, by the Direction of the Duke of *Milan*; who firſt, indeed, intended to give them to the *Genoeſe*; but afterwards changing his Mind, choſe rather to gratify the *Lucheſe*, to enable them, who were more at Hand, the better to aſſiſt the *Piſans*, and alſo to unite them more firmly to his Intereſt. When the News of theſe Proceedings reached the King, tho' he expoſtulated in great Warmth with *Ligni*, and forbid *Entragues* to return into *France*; yet when *Bonne* came back, who, beſides ſharing the Money paid by the *Piſans*, had treated in *Genoa* about the Sale of *Sarzana*, he made his Report in ſo plauſible a manner, that his Conduct was approved; and the *Piſan* Ambaſſador, who accompanied him, was graciouſly received, on his pretending to have been ſent by the *Piſans* to pay their Homage to his Majeſty, whom they had choſe for their Sovereign; and when afterwards his Commiſſion appeared to be forged, he was only diſmiſſed. *Ligni* received no other Puniſhment than that of being for- *A. D.* 1496.

A. D. 1496. bid to lie any longer in the King's Chamber, where he had a Bed; and to this Mark of Confidence he was ſoon reſtored. *Entragues* remained in Diſgrace, but he, alſo, after a ſhort time, was admitted into Favour thro' the Intreaties of his Friends, and the King's Good-nature; who was perſuaded, as indeed was true, that the *Florentines*, notwithſtanding ſuch Uſage, for their own Sakes would ſtand firm to him; and that whilſt they were kept out of the Poſſeſſion of *Piſa*, they would never join with the reſt of the Confederates againſt him; which indeed proved true at this very Inſtant: For they preſſed them with Threats to enter into their Alliance, but were conſtantly refuſed. The Confederates then being obliged to turn all their Thoughts to the Kingdom of *Naples*, contented themſelves with leaving in *Piſa* a Number of Troops ſufficient to keep up the Spirits of the *Piſans*, and protect their State from being intirely ſwallowed up by the *Florentines*.

Virginio marches into Abruzzo.

THE Affairs of *Naples* ſeemed to be in a dangerous Situation; for *Virginio* had inliſted

inliſted a good Number of Men at *Bagno* *Rapolano*, and in the *Perugian*, and was marching with them into *Abruzzo*, accompanied by many of his Relations of the *Orſini* Family. He was ſoon after followed by *Camillo* and *Pagolo Vitelli*, with their Regiments, who being refuſed Refreſhments at the Caſtle of *Montelione*, took and plundered it; which ſo terrified the other little Towns where they paſſed, that notwithſtanding the Pope's threatning Orders, they were accommodated with Quarters and Proviſions in all the Eccleſiaſtical State. There was beſides a general Report, that the *French* were coming by Sea with powerful Succours; and as *Ferdinando* was in great Diſtreſs for want of Money, nor could, without much greater Aſſiſtance, defend himſelf, he was obliged to form new Schemes. A. D. 1496.

THE Allies had not, at firſt, comprehended *Ferdinando* in their Confederacy; and tho' after his Recovery of the City of *Naples*, the Sovereigns of *Spain* had ſollicitouſly deſired he might be admitted, the *Venetians* refuſed it; perſuading themſelves,

A. D. 1496. ſelves, that *Ferdinando*'s Misfortunes would be inſtrumental to their obtaining part of his Kingdom; a Project they had ſome time ſince entertained.

Ferdinando treats with the *Venetians* for Succours.

FERDINANDO ſeemed to be in a deſtitute Condition; for the King of *Spain* was not diſpoſed to ſend any more Supplies; and the reſt of the Allies, grudging the Expence, did not ſufficiently provide againſt his Danger. This induced him to ſign a Treaty with the *Venetians*, under the Guaranty of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, by which they agreed to ſend into his Kingdom the Marquis of *Mantua*, their General, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horſe, and Three Thouſand Foot, and continue to keep their Fleet on his Coaſts: But they abſolutely inſiſted on a Clauſe, that theſe Auxiliaries might be withdrawn, whenever their own Defence required it. That for his preſent Exigences, they ſhould lend him Fifteen Thouſand Ducats; and for a Security of being reimburſed all their Charges, *Ferdinando* ſhould conſign to them *Otranto*, *Brindiſi*,

Brindiſi, and *Trani*; and permit them to keep *Monopoli* and *Pugliano*, that were in their Hands; but they entered into an Obligation to reſtore all theſe Towns whenever the Money was repaid; which, by Agreement, was not to be reckoned at more than Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats; tho' the Expences of Guards, Garriſons, and other Charges might never ſo much exceed that Sum. Theſe Ports being in the *Adriatic*, lay very commodious, and contributed to the Grandeur of the *Venetians* *. A. D. 1496.

THE Doge's Party acted now as they pleaſed, meeting with little Oppoſition in the Senate: For the Counſels of the old Senators were no longer heeded, ſince they had loſt the Queſtion in the Affair of *Piſa*. The ſame old Patriots were now of Opinion, that it was not ſafe to croud all their Sail, and truſt intirely to the Winds, tho' ſeemingly propitious; but nothing they ſaid was regarded. The *Venetian* Power ſeemed now greatly to extend

* *Bembo* adds, that *Mount St. Angelo*, when taken from the *French*, ſhould be conſigned to the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1496. extend itſelf; for not content with what they had done at *Piſa* and *Naples*, they took *Aſtorre* *, Lord of *Faenza*, into their Pay, and his Territory into their Protection; which lay very convenient to keep the *Florentines* and all the reſt of *Romagna* in Awe.

FERDINANDO, beſides this Extraordinary Help, had ſome general Aſſiſtance from the Confederates; for the Pope, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians*, contributed to raiſe another Body of Troops. But the Duke, with his uſual Artifice, that he might not ſeem to break through the Treaty of *Vercelli*, tho' he had the chief Hand in whatever Meaſures were taken, yet would not allow his Name to be mentioned; but, with the Conſent of the Allies, engaged to pay ſecretly for his Share Ten Thouſand Ducats a Month towards the Charges.

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* *Bembo* ſays, that the *Faventines* were fearful that ſome of their Fugitives, Friends to the *Florentines*, might deſtroy *Aſtorre*, and therefore begged the *Venetians* to take him under their Protection: They accordingly ſent for him to *Venice*, and put a *Venetian* Governor into *Faenza*.

A. D. 1496.

THE Arrival of the *Orſini* and the *Vitelli* in *Abruzzo* revived the drooping Spirits of the *French*; *Teramo* and *Civita di Chieti* had revolted from them; and it was ſuſpected that *Aquila*, the Capital of that Province, intended to follow their Example: but now it was confirmed in their Obedience, and *Teramo* was retaken, *Juliana* pillaged, and almoſt the whole Province of *Abruzzo* was in Poſſeſſion of the *French*; whilſt *Ferdinando*'s Intereſt ſeemed again to decline throughout the whole Kingdom. The beſt part of *Calabria* was in the Power of *Aubigny*, altho' his long Sickneſs in *Terace* gave an Opportunity to *Gonſalvo* to maintain the War with his *Spaniards*, aſſiſted by ſome of the Barons of that Province. *Gaeta*, with its Territories, was in the Hands of the *French*. The Prefect of *Rome*, with his Regiment, and with the Strength of his own State, recovered the Caſtle of *Montecaſino*, and ravaged *Terra di Lavoro*. *Monpenſier* could not put his Troops in Action for want of Money; yet he obliged *Ferdinando*, who laboured under the ſame Diffi-

A. D. 1496. Difficulty, to ſhut himſelf up in his ſtrong Places, and kept him inactive and ſhort of Proviſions: But the King, who had now perfected the Convention with the *Venetians*, began to have better Spirits, and better Hopes; yet as the Treaty was newly made, it required Time before the Succours could arrive. *Monpenſier* attempted to get *Benevento* by Treaty, but was prevented by *Ferdinando*; who having received private Information of what was tranſacting, ſuddenly threw himſelf into that City, and ſecured it. The *French* approached *Benevento*, encamped at the Bridge of *Finochio*, and took Poſſeſſion of *Fenezano*, *Apice*, and ſeveral Villages in the Neighbourhood; but for want of Proviſions were obliged to decamp.

THE Time was near at Hand when the Duties on the Wool of the Sheep of *Puglia* were to be collected: Theſe Duties are one of the beſt Revenues of the Kingdom of *Naples*; for they amount yearly to Eighty Thouſand Ducats, and

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are collected in the Space of One Month*. *Monpenſier* marched towards *Puglia*, part of which was in his Poſſeſſion, not only to deprive the Enemy of this Reſource, but alſo to recruit his own empty Coffers. *Ferdinando* followed at a ſmall Diſtance, with an Intent rather to obſerve his Motions, and prevent any Attempts, than to hazard a Battle before his Succours arrived. *A. D.* 1496.

IN the mean time the *French* Fleet from *Savona* arrived before *Gaeta*, conſiſting of Fifteen large, and Seven ſmaller Ships, having on Board Eight Hundred Men, that had been inliſted in the Territories of the Duke of *Guelderland*; as alſo thoſe *Swiſs* and *Gaſcons* that were to have ſailed with the large Ships from *Genoa*. *Ferdinando*'s Fleet, that wanted Neceſſaries, kept at a Diſtance, and could not prevent their entering the Port; ſo they landed unmoleſted, and immediately took *Itry* and *French* Fleet at *Gaeta*.

* *Bembo* writes One Hundred Thouſand, and that *Monpenſier* and *Perrino* acted imprudently in carrying the War into *Puglia* on this account, which was againſt the Sentiments of *Beaucaire*, who perſuaded them to keep the Army near *Naples*.

A. D. 1496. and other Places, pillaging the Country round about them: Hence they advanced towards the City of *Sezza*, which *Giovanni Baptiſta Carraccioli* had promiſed to put into their Hands; but Don *Federigo*, who had marched from *Taranto*, with a Deſign to cover the Country about *Naples*, receiving Intelligence by the Way, made ſuch Speed, that he prevented the *French*, and ſeized the Biſhop and ſeveral Officers, his Accomplices in the Conſpiracy. *

In *Puglia*, where lay the Streſs of the War, each Party getting the better by Turns, the Events proved various; the Seaſon was ſo ſevere, that both Armies were diſtributed in the neighbouring Towns, no ſingle Place being large enough to quarter either Army: Their chief Employ was to make Excurſions, and to carry off Cattle; in which they gave a greater Proof of their Dexterity, than of their Valoor.

Ferdinando was with part of his Men

* *Ferdinando*, a little before his Death, ordered the Biſhop to be beheaded. *Bembo.*

Men at *Foggia*, having quartered the reſt at *Troja* and *Nocera*; where receiving Intelligence, that there was a prodigious Number of Cattle between the Towns of *San Severo* and *Porcino*, which were garriſoned by *Virginio* and *Mariano Savelli*, who had there One Hundred Men at Arms; he took with him Eight Hundred Light Horſe *, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, and arrived at *San Severo* by Break of Day. He poſted the Foot to fall on *Virginio* if he ſtirred, and then ſent the Light Horſe † all over the Country, who carried off Sixty Thouſand Head of Cattle, and obliged *Mariano Savelli*, who had ſallied out of *Porcino* with One Hundred Soldiers, to retire, after the Loſs of Thirty of his Men at Arms killed on the Spot. A. D. 1496.

MONPENSIER, to recover his Honour and Loſs, aſſembled his whole Force, and marched towards *Foggia*: On his way between *Nocera* and *Troja*, he

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* *Giovio* ſays Seven Hundred, and attributes all the Glory to *Camillo Vitelli*, who here, for the firſt Time, made uſe of Men with Guns on Horſeback.

† Theſe were *Grecian* Horſes, lately brought from *Macedon* by the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1496. he unexpectedly encountered Eight Hundred *German* Foot, in *Ferdinando*'s Pay, who had been lately landed, and had raſhly left their Quarters of *Troja*, rather by the King's Permiſſion than Order, and againſt the Sentiments of *Fabritio Colonna*, with an Intent to join *Ferdinando* at *Foggia*: They were immediately ſurrounded by the *French* Army, and not being able to ſave themſelves by Flight, and refuſing to lay down their Arms, bravely fighting were all cut to Pieces, but made the Enemy pay dear for their Lives.

Eight Hundred *Germans* cut to Pieces at *Foggia*.

MONPENSIER, after this, preſented himſelf with his Army before *Foggia*, in order of Battle; but *Ferdinando*, not chuſing yet to fight, kept within the Walls: The *French* then moved off to the Wood of the *Incoronata* *, where they remained Two Days, and recovered the beſt part of their Cattle; after which they returned to *Foggia*, and the next Day to *San Severo*; but in their March they loſt many Horſes, which were carried

* *Incoronata* is a Church in the Middle of a Wood.

ried off by *Ferdinando*'s Cavalry. Theſe Motions prevented both Parties from reaping the Benefit of the Duties on Wool. *A. D.* 1496.

A FEW Days after, Proviſions growing ſcarce, the *French* went to *Campobaſſo*, which was in their Poſſeſſion; from whence they ſent ſome Troops to *Coglioneſſa*, a large Village, which they took Sword in Hand: The *Swiſs* here, contrary to Orders, exerciſed great Cruelties upon the Inhabitants, which put the Country into the utmoſt Conſternation, and more and more alienated the Minds of the People from a *French* Government *. *Coglioneſſa* taken by Aſſault.

FERDINANDO reſolved to act upon the Defenſive till he was joined by the Troops of the Allies; in the mean time he put his Army in good Condition with the Help of Sixteen Thouſand Ducats he had received from the Pope, and what Money he was able to collect from the People.

* *Giovio* ſays the Town ſurrendered, and was afterwards demoliſhed by the *French* and *Germans*, the Men killed, and the Women raviſhed.

A. D. 1496.

ABOUT the ſame Time ſome *Swiſs* and other Forces landed at *Gaeta*, and reinforced *Monpenſier*'s Army. On the other Hand, the Marquis of *Mantua* entered the Kingdom, and came to *Capua* by the way of *San Germano*, taking Poſſeſſion, either by Force or by Conſent, of all the Towns in his March; but they were of no great Importance. At the beginning of *June* he joined the King at *Nocera*, whither Don *Cæſare* of *Arragon* conducted the Troops that had lain before *Taranto*. Now both *Ferdinando* and *Monpenſier* had their Armies compleat: The *French* were ſuperior in Foot, the *Italians* in Horſe; ſo that in caſe of a Battle the Event ſeemed very doubtful, it being difficult to judge on which Side the Victory would incline.

THE King of *France* began now to turn his Thoughts in good Earneſt to the Affairs of *Italy*, and awaked from that Lethargy which he ſeemed to have been ſeized with ever ſince his Return into *France*; was rouſed at the Loſs of the Caſtles,

Caſtles, and at the Diſappointment of the *Florentine* Succours, and gave Orders that every thing ſhould be got ready for his Expedition. He began by imploring the Divine Aid, and went poſt, firſt to *Tours*, and then to *Paris*, to fulfil the Vows he had made to St. *Martin* and St. *Denis* at the Battle of the *Taro*; then came back with the ſame haſte to *Lions*, and every Day grew more deſirous of returning into *Italy*: He gloried in his Acquiſition of ſo fine a Kingdom, and boaſted of his being the firſt *French* King, that, after many Ages, had in Perſon renewed the Memory of the *Gallic* Arms and Victories. He attributed the Misfortunes that had happened after his Return more to his own neglectful Conduct, than to the Courage of his Enemies, whoſe Name for military Affairs was in little Eſteem amongſt the *French*. His Ardour was heightened by the continual Sollicitations of the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, of the Cardinal of St. *Piero in Vincola*, *Giovanni Jacomo Trivulzi*, *Vitellozzo*, *Carlo Orſini*, and afterwards of Count *Montorio*, who was ſent on Purpoſe by the Barons of the *French* Party from A. D. 1496.

A. D. 1496. *Naples*; and to enforce all, the Seneſchal of *Beaucaire* was come by Sea from *Gaeta*, and gave great Hopes of Victory, if an immediate Succour was ſent; but at the ſame time aſſured his Majeſty, that intire Deſtruction muſt enſue, if the Affairs of that Kingdom were any longer neglected.

AND now moſt of the great Men in *France*, that had been formerly againſt the Expedition, thought it would be diſhonourable to loſe a conquered Kingdom, and to ſacrifice the Lives of ſo many of their Countrymen, that were left for its Defence. Nor were theſe Deſigns in the leaſt reſtrained by the Motions of the *Spaniards* at *Perpignan*; it being well known their Preparations were not ſo conſiderable as they gave out; but it was thought proper, however, to ſend a Body of Archers, accompanied by ſome *Swiſs*, to *Narbonne*, and other Places on the Borders, to keep every thing quiet in thoſe Parts *.

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* *Ferdinando* of *Spain* attempted to fright *Charles* from the *Italian* Expedition, by making a great ſhew of Troops at *Perpignan*; but he never intended to make War, becauſe his Coffers were empty. *Giovio.*

A. D. 1496.

A GRAND Council was held, at which aſſiſted all the Men of Note: It was reſolved, that *Trivulzi*, with the Title of *The King's Lieutenant*, ſhould proceed with all Speed to *Aſti*, and take with him Eight Hundred Lances, Two Thouſand *Swiſs*, and Two Thouſand *Gaſcons*; that he ſhould be followed by the Duke of *Orleans*; and then the King ſhould paſs the *Alps* with the Remainder of the Army. It was expected, that on his Majeſty's Arrival, the Duke of *Savoy* and the Marquiſſes of *Montferrato* and *Saluzzo* would declare in his Favour; which might prove of great Service in commencing the War againſt the Duke of *Milan*. It was alſo taken for granted, that all the *Swiſs* Cantons, except *Bern*, which had engaged not to moleſt *Lodovico*, would readily let their Men be inliſted into the *French* Service. The Eagerneſs the King had expreſſed for this new Expedition, before the convoking of the Council, had a great Sway with the Members, and was the Occaſion of an almoſt general Approbation: *Charles* had

A. D. 1496. deſired earneſtly of the Duke of *Bourbon*, that he would ſtrongly repreſent to the Council the Neceſſity of a ſpeedy Reinforcement, and oppoſe thoſe who ſhould raiſe any Difficulties; which he did with great Warmth, whenever the Admiral, with a few of his Followers, not indeed contradicted, but only ſtarted ſome Objections, in order to cool the Reſolution of the reſt. The King himſelf openly declared, that it was not in his Power to act otherwiſe, being convinced, from an Impulſe he felt within him, that it was the Will of God he ſhould go in Perſon into *Italy*.

In this Council it was determined, that Thirty Ships, amongſt which the *Normanda* *, a Veſſel of very large Bulk, and another of much the ſame Burthen, belonging to the Knights of *Rhodes*, ſhould ſail from the Ocean, where they were ſtationed, to the Ports of *Provence*, in which Thirty more Veſſels, conſiſting of Galleys and Galleons, ſhould be equipped; and

* The *Normanda*, according to *Bembo*, was of Twelve Hundred Tons.

and thence proceed to the Kingdom of *Naples*, with a vaſt Supply of Men, Proviſions, Ammunition, and Money: But as it would require ſome Time before this main Succour could be got in Readineſs, that ſome light Veſſels ſhould be immediately diſpatched with what Men and Proviſions were at Hand. *A. D.* 1496.

RIGAULT, the King's Major-domo, was ſent to *Milan*: For the Duke, tho' he had not equipped the Two Ships that were ſtipulated, nor ſuffered the King to arm any Veſſels in the Port of *Genoa*, and had reſtored only the Two taken at *Rapalle*, but not the Twelve Gallies that were ſtopped at *Genoa*, excuſing himſelf by laying all the Blame on the Obſtinacy of the *Genoeſe*, yet ſtill kept a conſtant Correſpondence with the King, to whom he had lately ſent *Antonio Maria Pallavicino*, to aſſure him of his Reſolution to obſerve all the Articles of the Treaty, and to deſire ſome farther Time for the Payment of the Fifty Thouſand Ducats to the Duke of *Orleans*. Theſe Subterfuges would have availed him little *Lodovico's* Artifices.

on

A. D. 1496. on another Occaſion, as his Deſigns were ſeen thro', and his Sentiments well known at Court, not only from his Actions, but from ſome intercepted Letters; wherein he endeavoured to perſuade the King of *Spain*, and the King of the *Romans*, to declare War againſt *France*. But in the preſent Exigence, as there were ſome Hopes that he might be induced by Fear to act otherwiſe than he would by Choice, *Rigault*'s Inſtructions were to tell him, that it was in his Power to cancel the Remembrance of all paſt Offences, by reſtoring the Gallies, equipping the Two Ships, and permitting the King to arm his Veſſels in the Port of *Genoa*. He was alſo to notify his Majeſty's Reſolution of paſſing the *Alps*; and let him know, that it would prove very much to his Diſadvantage, if now, that it was in his Power, he did not renew that Friendſhip, which the King was ſatisfied he had neglected, more from ill-grounded Suſpicions, than from any ſolid Reaſon.

THE Fame of theſe great Preparations having reached *Italy*, had greatly diſturbed the

the Minds of the Allies: *Lodovico Sforza*, in particular, was very much affected, as his Territories were the firſt that muſt bear the Shock. He had heard how, after the Departure of *Rigault*, the King, with very angry Words, had diſmiſſed all his Agents; and beginning to ruminate on the great Danger he was in, he would willingly have accommodated Matters with the King, but that he was conſcious how much he had provoked him. This Conſideration ſtaggered him, and gave him ſuch Diffidence, that he concluded it a harder Taſk to beget Confidence in one another, than to agree to Articles of Accommodation; for what was required for Safety of one Side, rendered precarious that of the other. He found himſelf, therefore, at laſt neceſſitated to make choice of what was then the moſt diſagreeable to his Inclination. However, to keep off the Danger as long as poſſible, he amuſed *Rigault* with his uſual Artifices; and, with an Air of Sincerity, told him, that he would oblige the *Genoeſe* to comply, provided the King would give creditable Sureties in *Avignon*, that the Ships ſhould

A. D. 1496.

A. D. 1496. ſhould be reſtored at the End of the War: Further, That each ſhould reciprocally promiſe, that nothing new ſhould be attempted againſt one another; and Hoſtages given for mutual Security. *Lodovico* found Means to ſpin out ſome Time with theſe Propoſals, and when they were agreed to, raiſed ſome new Difficulty; till at laſt *Rigault*, finding he was deceived, gave over treating, and left *Milan*.

BUT *Lodovico* had loſt no Time, for whilſt the Treaty was depending, he diſpatched Expreſſes to the King of the *Romans*, to invite him to come into *Italy*, where he would find the *Venetians* and himſelf ready to receive him. He ſent Ambaſſadors to *Venice*, to ſollicit the Senate to unite in this Common Danger, and ſend inſtantly all the Forces and Money they could ſpare, towards *Alexandria*, that they might be in Readineſs to oppoſe the *French*: The *Venetians* came into this Meaſure without much Difficulty; but were not ſo eaſily induced to admit the King of the *Romans*, of whom they

they had Reaſon to be jealous; for he laid Claim to their *Terra-Firma*, pretending it belonged to the Empire and Houſe of *Auſtria*. They alſo made ſome Objection againſt putting the whole Army under the Command of *Lodovico*; but as he continued his Sollicitations, and the Senate knew his timorous Temper, and that Deſpair might induce him to throw himſelf into the Arms of the *French*, they agreed to every thing he deſired, and ſent an Ambaſſador to *Cæſar*. * A. D. 1496.

THE Duke and the *Venetians* were both apprehenſive, that as ſoon as the King was arrived in *Italy*, the *Florentines* would attack the *Rivieras* of *Genoa*; for which Reaſon they ordered *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who had liſted himſelf with Three Hundred Men at Arms in the Service of the Confederates, to invade the *Florentine* Borders on the Side of *Bologna*; aſſuring him, that at the ſame Time they ſhould be attacked by the *Seneſe* and *Piſans*; and moreover engaged, that

* The *Italians* gave *Maximilian* and his Predeceſſors the Name of *Cæſar*; tho', as ſaid before, not of Emperor, till they were crowned by the Pope.

A. D. 1496. that if he could take *Piſtoia*, it ſhould remain in his Poſſeſſion under their Guaranty. *Bentivoglio* ſeemed to comply, tho' he intended nothing leſs: He was terrified at the Return of the *French*, and privately ſent to the King, excuſing his paſt Conduct, which he ſaid had proceeded from the Situation of Affairs at *Bologna* at that Juncture; promiſing him for the future to depend on his Will, and on his Regard to give no Diſturbance to the *Florentines*.

BUT the King's Deſire, tho' never ſo ardent, was not ſufficient to have all his Deliberations put in Execution, tho' his Reputation, and the Danger of *Naples* required Expedition: For the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, who was Treaſurer, and had the Direction of every thing, tho' he did not openly diſapprove of what was doing, yet he retarded the Payments in ſuch a manner, that all the Preparations were delayed; either becauſe he had a Mind to be thought ſaving of the Public Money; or, as moſt People believe, bribed with the Gifts and Promiſes of the Pope and *Lodovico*,

Lodovico, with whom, as was ſaid, he held a ſecret Correſpondence. For no Orders the King gave could avail, tho' he ſometimes begged and perſuaded, at others commanded with Anger and reproachful Words: For the Cardinal well knowing his Temper, ſoothed him with a ſeeming Compliance to what he never intended to perform. Beſides another ſudden Accident had like to have quite overturned the whole Expedition. A. D. 1496.

AT the latter End of *May*, when every one expected the King would begin his March for *Italy*, he declared his Reſolution of going to *Paris*, to take a formal Leave of St. *Denis*, and alſo of St. *Martin*, in his way through *Tours*. He ſaid his Journey to *Paris* was of the utmoſt Conſequence; for being determined to carry with him into *Italy* great Sums of Money, leſt he ſhould be put to the Streights he had been at in the preceding Year, it was neceſſary for him, firſt to raiſe Money on the *Pariſians*, becauſe their Example would be followed by all the other Cities of his Kingdom; beſides,

A. D. 1496. beſides, when he was in thoſe Parts, he might ſollicit the ſpeedy March of the Troops out of *Normandy* and *Picardy*. He promiſed to return within a Month; and that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould, in the mean time, proceed to *Italy*. But the true Reaſon of this Journey was thought to have been an Affection he bore to a Lady of the Queen's Bed-chamber, her Majeſty being juſt gone to *Tours* with her Court.

CHARLES could not be perſuaded to ſet aſide this Journey, neither by the Intreaties of his Miniſters, nor by the Prayers and Tears of the *Italians*, tho' they endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the irreparable Damage a Delay would cauſe to his Affairs in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where his Army muſt be deſtroyed for want of Succour. His Return to his Capital when all *Italy* was waiting his Arrival, would be very prejudicial to his Intereſt in that Country; for the Credit of an Enterprize is leſſened by very ſmall Accidents, and when once ſunk, was not eaſily retrieved, tho' greater Efforts were made

made than were at firſt intended. But the King, deaf to ſuch reaſonable Advice, loitered ſtill a Month at *Lyons* before he began his Journey to *Paris*; and without diſpatching the Duke of *Orleans*, as promiſed, he ſent only *Trivulzio*, with a few Soldiers, to *Aſti*; which he did not ſo much to make neceſſary Preparations, as to confirm in his Intereſt *Filippo* Duke of *Savoy*, who had juſt then ſucceeded his young Nephew. All the Care he took of the Kingdom of *Naples* before his Departure from *Lyons*, was to provide Six Ships loaded with Proviſions, which he ordered to ſail to *Gaeta*, giving Hopes they ſhould be followed by a grand Fleet; and a Remittance of Forty Thouſand Ducats to *Monpenſier*, by means of the *Florentine* Bankers, to prevent the *Swiſs* and *Germans* from deſerting to *Ferdinando*, as they had proteſted ſhould be the Caſe, if they did not receive their Pay before the End of *June*. *A. D.* 1496.

THE Duke of *Orleans*, the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, and the Council remained at *Lions*, with Orders to accelerate all

A. D. 1496. Things neceſſary for the Expedition: But if the Cardinal was remiſs when the King was preſent, it could not be expected he would be more ſollicitous in his Abſence; and the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples* would not admit of ſuch Delays; for the Armies on both Sides having taken the Field with all their Strength, it was neceſſary, on ſeveral Accounts, to come to a Deciſion.

FERDINANDO, after joining the *Venetians*, had taken *Caſtel Franco*, where he alſo received a Reinforcement of Two Hundred Men at Arms under *Giovanni Sforza* Lord of *Peſaro*, and *Giovanni Gonzaga*, Brother to the Marquis of *Mantua*, who were General Officers in the Confederate Army, which now conſiſted of Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred Light Horſe, and Nine Thouſand Foot.

THE *French* were encamped before *Circelle*, Ten Miles from *Benevento*; *Ferdinando* directed his March to *Frangete di Monteforte*, which was within Four Miles

Miles of them: But that Place being well fortified, could not be taken at the firſt Aſſault, as was expected. The *French* moved from *Circelle*, in hopes of relieving it, but they arrived too late; for the Town dreading a ſecond Attack, ſubmitted, and was delivered up by the *German* Foot at Diſcretion. *A. D.* 1496.

THE *French* had now a fair Opportunity of deſtroying the *Neapolitan* Army, had they known how to make a good Uſe of it: For every one allows, that whilſt *Ferdinando*'s Troops were pillaging the Town of *Frangete*, without any Order or Diſcipline, they might have been eaſily routed. *Ferdinando*'s Commanders were appriſed of the Danger, knowing the two Armies were parted only by a Valley, and therefore uſed all their Endeavours to call the Soldiers together, and range them in proper Order; but all to no Purpoſe.

MONPENSIER was ſenſible, and ſo was *Virginio Orſini*, of this Opportunity of getting a compleat Victory: The firſt gave Orders to march and attack; but not

A. D. 1496. prevailing, the other, with Tears in his Eyes, begged they would move and paſs the Valley, whilſt the *Italians* were full of Diſorder, and deaf to the Commands of their Officers. But *Perſi*, the next in Authority to *Monpenſier*, prompted by juvenile and inconſiderate Levity; or, as ſome thought, out of Jealouſy of *Monpenſier*'s Glory, made the Attack appear very dangerous to the Army; he ſaid, that to paſs the Valley they muſt mount, in a manner, under the Enemy's Feet, who were ſtrongly fortified; and, vehemently diſſuading the Soldiers from fighting, was the ſole Occaſion of the Preſervation of the *Italian* Army. It was thought that he alſo inſtigated the *Swiſs* at this Juncture to demand their Pay, which not being poſſible to be complied with, it occaſioned a Tumult: So *Monpenſier* was obliged to return under *Circelle*, which Place he ſtormed the next Day: In the Aſſault *Camillo Vitelli*, acting the Part both of General and common Soldier, was killed by a Stone thrown from the Walls, which pitched on his Head. The *French* were ſo diſcouraged at this Accident,

Camillo Vitelli killed at *Circelle*.

dent, that they immediately raiſed the Siege, and marched towards *Arriano*, with an Intent, however, to give Battle if a fair Opportunity offered. But the *Arragonians* had no Thoughts of running any Riſk, and the *Venetian* Proveditors were poſitive in the ſame Reſolution; for they knew the Enemy began to want Proviſions and Money, and they had no great Opinion of the Preparations making in *France*: They had alſo Reaſon to expect Commotions in other Parts of the Kingdom; for in *Abruzzo*, *Annibale*, (a natural Son of the Lord of *Camerino*) who was a Voluntier in *Ferdinando*'s Army, and had brought with him Four Hundred Horſe at his own Expence, had routed the Marquis of *Bitonto*. The Duke of *Urbino* was alſo expected with Three Hundred Men at Arms: He was engaged for a Year yet to come in the Pay of the *Florentines*; but choſe to quit them, and come into the Service of the Allies, from whom he expected greater Advantages: But to ſave his Reputation, he gave out that his Dominions were a Fief of the Church, which put him under an Obli-

A. D. 1496.

A. D. 1496. gation of obeying the Pope's Orders. *Gratiano di Guerra* was ſent with a Party to prevent his joining the Enemy; but Count *Celano* and Count *Pepoli*, in the Plains of *Sermona*, attacked him with Three Hundred Horſe and Three Thouſand of the Militia, and put him to Flight.

THE good Fortune of the *French* had begun to decline ever ſince they loſt the Opportunity of deſtroying the *Italian* Army at *Frangete*. Infinite Difficulties concurred at the ſame Time to diſtreſs them; an extreme Scarcity of Money, Want of Proviſions, Hatred of the People, Diſagreements amongſt the Officers, Diſobedience in the Soldiers, and the Deſertion of Numbers from their Camp; ſome being drove away by Neceſſity, and others diſguſted at the Service. They had not Power enough to gather any Quantity of Money, and they received none from *France*; and even the Forty Thouſand Ducats remitted to *Florence* came too late. They had then noMoney to buyProviſions, nor could they force much from the Inhabitants; for their Enemies were in Poſſeſſion of moſt of the Towns around them,

them. The Army on this Account was full of Diſorders, and the Courage of the Soldiery greatly damped. The *Swiſs* and *Germans* perpetually grumbled, and in a tumultous manner demanded their Pay; and the Diſagreement between the two Generals increaſed the Diſcontent. The Prince of *Biſignano* went off with his Men, to protect his own Principality againſt *Gonſalvo*; and great Numbers of the *Neapolitan* common Soldiers left their Colours, not only becauſe they received no Wages, but alſo on account of the ill Uſage they received from the *French* and *Swiſs* in the Diſtribution of the Prizes and Proviſions. Theſe Difficulties obliged the Army to retire every Day from one Place to another, with a Diminution of its Reputation in all Places. They were followed by *Ferdinando*, but the *French* could never get an Opportunity to engage, as *Monpenſier* and *Virginio* earneſtly deſired: *Roſſo* only, a *Venetian* Commander of One Hundred Men at Arms, not being able to join the Allies, was cut to Pieces with his Men by the Prefect of *Rome*. At laſt the *French* being encamped at A. D. 1496.

A. D. 1496 *Montecalvoli* and *Caſalarbore* near *Arriano*, *Ferdinando* approached them within Bow-ſhot, and entrenched himſelf in ſuch a manner as to fear no Danger. From this Poſt he reduced the Enemy to an intire Want of Proviſions, and alſo deprived them of Water. This determined *Monpenſier* to march into the plentiful Province of *Puglia*; and being aware of the Inconveniences that attend an Army when cloſely purſued, he broke up ſilently in the Beginning of the Night, and marched without beat of Drum full Twenty-five Miles without halting. *Ferdinando* knew nothing of their Motions till the next Morning, and then ſet out after them; but they were ſo far advanced as not to be overtaken: So he ſat down before *Gieſualdo*, and took it the ſame Day, tho' it had formerly ſuſtained a Siege of Fourteen Months. This proved a great Diſappointment to the *French*, who intended to ſtop at *Veneſt*, a Place of Strength, and well ſupplied with Proviſions: For as they were perſuaded that the Siege of *Gieſualdo* would detain the Enemy ſeveral Days, they halted ſome time

Gieſualdo taken.

time at *Atella*, a Town they had taken; and whilſt they were employed in plundering, *Ferdinando* overtook them: He was repulſed in an Attack, but found means at laſt to place his Camp in their Front, ſo as to prevent them from proceeding to *Venoſa*, which was Eight Miles diſtant. The *French* were then obliged to remain at *Atella*, where they entertained Hopes of receiving Aſſiſtance and Proviſions from the neighbouring Towns that were in their Poſſeſſion. But *Ferdinando* diſpoſed his Men in ſuch a manner, as to fruſtrate the beſt part of theſe Expectations: He next cut down Timber, and dug ſeveral Trenches about *Atella*; took ſeveral of the adjoining Villages, and began to think he had it now in his Power to gain a compleat Victory, without Danger or Blood-ſhed. *A. D.* 1496.

THE Diſtreſſes amongſt the *French* increaſed daily; for the *German* Foot having received but Two Months Pay ſince they came out of their own Country, and the Time they had been promiſed their Money being elapſed, went over in *The Germans go over to Ferdinando.*

a

A. D. 1496. a Body to *Ferdinando*; which, beſides ſtrengthening his Army, gave him an Opportunity of placing more Troops in the Avenues of *Atella*; by which means the Enemy could receive but very little Proviſion from *Venoſa*, and the Parts adjacent. This diſheartened them extremely, as they knew they could not ſubſiſt many Days in *Atella*, where there was but very little Wheat; and a Water-Mill near the Walls of the Town had been deſtroyed. But what made their Caſe deſperate was, that all Hopes of Relief were now extinguiſhed: For what happened in *Calabria* gave the finiſhing Stroke, and ruined all their Affairs in that Kingdom. *Aubigni*, oppreſſed by a long and tedious Sickneſs, could not keep his Troops under due Diſcipline, and ſeveral on this Account quitted him, and went to ſerve under *Monpenſier*. *Gonſalvo*, by this means, had an Opportunity of taking ſeveral Towns in that Province: He had lately encamped at *Caſtrovillare* with the *Spaniards*, and a Thouſand Peaſants, where he received Intelligence, that the Count of *Mileto*, and

and *Alberigo San Severino*, with ſeveral Barons, and an Army equal to his own, were encamped at *Laino*; that their Numbers increaſed every Day, and that as ſoon as they had a Superiority, they were determined to give him Battle. *Gonſalvo* reſolved to be before-hand, in hopes of finding them unprepared; as was likely enough, ſince they had no Reaſon to expect that he would attack them in their ſtrong Quarters at *Laino*. This Town lies on the River *Sapri*, which divides *Calabria* from the *Principato*, and joins to a Caſtle on the oppoſite Side by a Bridge. Here the *French* were lodged, and were defended by the Caſtle from any Attack that might be made from the High-Road; *Muſano* and other Villages belonging to the Prince of *Biſignano*, their Friend, lay alſo between *Laino* and *Caſtrovillare*. But *Gonſalvo* took a Method unexpected to ſurprize them: He decamped from *Caſtrovillare* a little before Night, and leaving the Highway, fetched a Compaſs by a difficult Road; for he was obliged to paſs over ſome Mountains, and in this manner got to the River unobſerved.

A. D. 1496.

French at *Laino*.

Gonſalvo's politic March to *Laino*.

A. D. 1496. obſerved. He ordered the Foot to take Poſſeſſion of the Bridge that was between the Caſtle of *Laino* and the Town; which, as the Enemy was under no Apprehenſion from that Quarter, was very ill guarded. *Gonſalvo* himſelf, with the Horſe, waded the River Two Miles higher, arrived at *Laino* Two Hours before Day; and meeting no Centinels or Guards, got into the Town, ſeized on Eleven Barons, and made moſt of the Soldiers Priſoners; for as they ran towards the Caſtle, they were intercepted by the Foot, who had made themſelves Maſters of the Bridge. This was the firſt Victory obtained by *Gonſalvo* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, after which he took ſeveral Towns in *Calabria* *; then augmenting his Army with Six Thouſand Men, joined the Camp at *Atella*; where alſo the Duke of *Candia*, who was in the Pay of the Confederates, ſent a Detachment of One Hundred Men at Arms from the *Roman* Territory.

He takes *Laino* by Surprize.

THE

* *Squillace, Simari, Crotone, Seminara, Nizaſtro, Terra, Sluira,* and *Ciſenza.*

A. D. 1496.

THE Arrival of *Gonſalvo* gave *Ferdinando* an Opportunity of blocking up *Atella* more cloſely: Three Parts of the Town were wholly ſhut up, on one Quarter by the *Arragonians*, on another by the *Venetians*, and on a Third by the *Spaniards*; ſo that all Proviſions were in a manner ſtopt, eſpecially as the *Venetian* Stradiotti ſcoured the Country, and took ſeveral Convoys coming from *Venoſa*. Nor had the Beſieged any Opportunity to go in Queſt of Forage, except in the Night with large Eſcorts; and Means were found to prevent that alſo. *Pagolo Vitelli* ventured at Noon-day to go out with One Hundred Men at Arms, but ſeveral of them were cut off by an Ambuſh laid by the Marquis of *Mantua*. *Atella beſieged.*

THE *French* were now reduced to the laſt Extremity: For they had neither Water for themſelves, nor could they any longer water their Horſes in the River, as they had done with an Eſcort hitherto: So that overcome with Thirſt and Hunger, and having no Hopes of Relief, after enduring

A. D. 1496. enduring a Siege of Twenty-two Days, they were obliged to capitulate. When they had obtained proper Paſſes, they ſent out *Perſi*, *Bartolomeo D'Alviano*, and a *Swiſs* Officer to treat with *Ferdinando*, who agreed with them on the following Terms: That there ſhould be a Truce for Thirty Days, during which Time none of the Beſieged ſhould go out of *Atella*, but be daily ſupplied by the *Arragonians* with Proviſions. That *Monpenſier* might give Notice to the King of *France* of the Situation he was in, and if no Succours arrived in Thirty Days, from the ſigning the Articles, then he ſhould not only ſurrender *Atella*, but alſo give up all the Places that were poſſeſſed by the *French*, and under his Command in the Kingdom of *Naples*, with the Artillery. That his Men ſhould be ſafe in their Perſons and Effects, and the *French* be allowed to return into *France*, by Land or by Sea, as they liked; and the *Orſini*, and other *Italians*, might retire where they pleaſed out of the Kingdom. That all the Barons, and other Subjects of *Ferdinando*, that within a Fortnight laid down their Arms,

Atella capitulates.

Arms, ſhould be pardoned, and all their Effects reſtored. A. D. 1496.

THE Thirty Days being expired, the *French*, with many of the *Swiſs*, and the *Orſini*, were conducted to the Caſtle of *Stabbia*, near the Sea. But *Monpenſier* refuſed to give Orders for the Delivery of what remained ſtill in Poſſeſſion of the *French* in other Parts of the Kingdom; which *Ferdinando* inſiſted, that as Captain-General, he ought to perform according to the Articles: But he denied having ſuch a Power, and ſaid his Authority did not extend to the Officers and Governors in *Calabria*, *Abruzzo*, *Gaeta*, and in ſeveral other Caſtles and Forts; becauſe they had received their Truſt immediately from the King, and not from him. This Diſpute laſted ſeveral Days; but at laſt *Ferdinando*, to be even with him for being thus cajoled, gave out, that the Veſſels were not ready to receive the *French* on board; and whilſt they were equipping, removed them to *Baja* and *Pozzuolo*; where, on account of the bad Air, and many other Hardſhips, moſt of them ſickened

A. D. 1496. ſickened and died: *Monpenſier* periſhed amongſt the reſt; and of his Men, who exceeded Five Thouſand, hardly Five Hundred got ſafe into *France* *. *Virginio* and *Pagolo Orſini* were ſent Priſoners to *Caſtel dell' Uovo*, by the Pope's Deſire, who was determined to confiſcate their Eſtates. He ſent the Duke of *Urbino* to plunder and ſtrip their Men, who were in *Abruzzo* under the Command of *Giovanni Giordano*, *Virginio*'s Son, and *Bartolomeo d' Alviano*; but theſe two Officers were not preſent, for *Ferdinando* had ordered them to be brought to *Naples*, and kept them in Priſon; tho' *Alviano* found Means to eſcape, either by his own Management and Induſtry, or by the Connivance of *Ferdinando*, who had a particular Regard for him.

AFTER the Victory of *Atella*, *Ferdinando* divided his Army into ſeveral Bodies, that he might at once recover the Remainder

* *Giovio* writes, that *Monpenſier* was invited by the Marquis of *Mantua* to leave that Air, and reſide with him; but that he refuſed it, ſaying he would not abandon his Army. The ſame Writer ſays, that the bad Air carried off a great many *Arragonians* as well as *French*.

mainder of his Kingdom. He ordered Don *Federigo* to march to *Gaeta*, and *Proſpero Colonna* to *Abruzzo*, where the City of *Aquila* had, of its own accord, returned to his Obedience. *Fabritio Colonna* took the Caſtle of *San Severino* by Aſſault; and to ſtrike a Terror into the reſt, he ordered the Governor and his Son to be beheaded. He afterwards went to *Salerno*, where the Prince of *Biſignano* came to him to treat for himſelf, for the Prince of *Salerno*, Count *Capuccio*, and other Barons. It was propoſed they ſhould enjoy their Eſtates, provided they delivered their Caſtles to *Ferdinando*, who was to keep them a limited Time for his own Security: They all complied with the Conditions, and went to *Naples*. A. D. 1496.

No greater Reſiſtance was made in *Abruzzo*; for *Gratiano di Guerra*, who had a Body of Eight Hundred Men, not being in a Condition to ſupport himſelf, retired to *Gaeta*. *Gonſalvo* returned into *Calabria*, where the *French* had the greateſt Intereſt, and were in Poſſeſſion of the beſt part of that Province. *Aubigni*

A. D. 1496. reſiſted ſome Time; but when *Manfredonia* and *Coſenza*, which had been plundered by the *French*, were taken, deſpairing of holding out any longer, he agreed to relinquiſh *Calabria*, and was permitted to return into *France* by Land.

Aubigni gives up Calabria.

CERTAIN it is, that many of theſe Loſſes were occaſioned by the Negligence and ill Conduct of the *French*. *Manfredonia* was well fortified, and ſituated in a plentiful Country; and might have been eaſily furniſhed with Proviſions: The King had left *Gabriello di Montcſalcone* for Governor, a Man reputed brave and reſolute; yet he was obliged to deliver up this important City, after a few Days Siege, for want of Proviſions. Other Places, that could have defended themſelves, ſurrendered, either out of Cowardice, or private Intereſt of their Governors; or becauſe they would not bear the Inconveniences of a Siege. Some of the Governors found their Caſtles very well victualled, but ſold the Proviſions; and therefore were forced to capitulate at the firſt Appearance of the Enemy. This Beha-

Behaviour rendered the *French* deſpicable, and made them intirely loſe the Reputation they had formerly gained, when the Perſon who was left Governor of *Caſtel dell' Nuovo* by *Giovanni d' Anjou* held it for ſeveral Years againſt *Ferdinando*; nor did he ſurrender till the Garriſon was almoſt famiſhed. *Taranto*, *Gaeta*, and ſome few Towns held by *Carlo del Sanguine*, and *Mont St. Angelo*, from whence *Giuliano Oreno* made ſeveral bold Excurſions, were the only Places that remained in the Hands of the *French* throughout the Kingdom. *A. D.* 1496.

FERDINANDO was now in the Heighth of his Glory; and every one expected he would be equal to any of his brave Anceſtors, when he was ſnatched away by an untimely Death. He made a Progreſs to *Somma*, a Village at the Foot of Mount *Veſuvius*, to meet his Queen; here, either ſinking under his late Fatigues, or oppreſſed by ſome freſh Diſorder, he fell dangerouſly ill, and was carried, with little Hopes of Recovery, to *Naples*, where he died in a few Days, and within a Year after the Deceaſe of his *Death of Ferdinando.*

A. D. 1496. his Father *Alphonſo* *. His Courage, Magnanimity, and other princely Accompliſhments, as well as his Victories, which were aſcribed to his Valour and Conduct, left a deep Impreſſion, not only in the Hearts of his Subjects, but of all the *Italians*. Dying without Iſſue, he was ſucceeded by his Uncle Don *Federigo*. The Kingdom of *Naples* had now ſeen Five Kings in the Space of Three Years. †

Federigo's Acceſſion. As ſoon as *Federigo* had Notice of his Nephew's Death, he left the Siege of *Gaeta* and went to *Naples*, where the old Queen, his Mother-in-Law, put him in Poſſeſſion of *Caſtel Nuovo*, contrary to the Expectation of many, who thought ſhe would keep it at the Diſpoſition of her Brother *Ferdinando*, King of *Spain*.

FEDERIGO came to the Crown with the Acclamations of all Parties; for the Princes

* He was taken with a Flux, occaſioned by the Embraces of his new Conſort *Giovanna*, Daughter to his Grandfather, King *Ferdinando*. *Giovio*.

† The Five Kings were the Four *Arragonians*, and *Charles* VIII.

Princes of *Salerno* * and *Biſignano*, and Count *Capuccio*, were the firſt that received him on his Arrival, and proclaimed him King. He was preferred to *Ferdinando* for the Mildneſs of his Temper: Beſides there was a Rumour, that *Ferdinando* intended, as ſoon as he ſhould find himſelf ſettled in the Government, to proſecute all thoſe that had been attached to the *French*. But *Federigo*, to take off all ſuch Suſpicions, and the better to reconcile the adverſe Party, with great Prudence reſtored the contumacious Barons to their Caſtles, for which he was very much commended. A. D. 1496.

THIS ill Succeſs, attended with ſo much Loſs and Ignominy, did not awaken the *French* King; he was abſent Four Months from his Court and Army, immerged in Pleaſures, and deaf to the continual Sollicitations that came from *Lions*, to deſire his Return. He ordered them, indeed, to continue the Preparations, both by Sea and Land, and the Duke

* *Giovio* ſays, that the Prince of *Salerno* never ſubmitted to *Federigo*, and refuſed to aſſiſt at his Coronation.

A. D. 1496. of *Orleans* was in Readineſs to ſet out; but the Cardinal, with his uſual Artifices, delayed the Payments, which retarded the March of the Troops. The Fleet that was to aſſemble at *Marſeilles*, was, for the ſame Reaſon, kept back ſo long, that the Allies had Leiſure to ſend firſt to *Nice*, and afterwards to the very Mouth of the Harbour of *Marſeilles*, a large Fleet, equipped at their common Expence in the Port of *Genoa*, to prevent the *French* from putting out to Sea. Beſides the Cardinal's Artifices, another Reaſon was whiſpered about, to be the Occaſion of this Delay, which was induſtriouſly nouriſhed in the King's Breaſt, by thoſe who were averſe to the *Italian* Expedition. They repreſented to his Majeſty the ambitious and dangerous Deſigns of the Duke of *Orleans*, who, if victorious, would poſſeſs himſelf of the Dutchy of *Milan*. They alſo urged, that it was not expedient, nor for the King's Intereſt, that he ſhould leave *France* before he had made ſome Agreement with the King of *Spain*, who, deſirous of a Reconciliation, had ſent Ambaſſadors to propoſe a Truce, which

which might be improved into a Peace. Many alſo counſelled him to wait till the Queen was brought to Bed; 'It did not, ſaid they, become his Prudence, and the Love he had for his Country, to expoſe himſelf to ſo many Dangers, before he had an Heir to ſo fine a Kingdom.' This Reaſon became ſtronger, as the Queen was ſoon after brought to Bed of a Son, who lived but a few Days. So that, partly thro' the Negligence and ill Conduct of the King, and partly by the Difficulties artfully interpoſed by the Courtiers, the Preparations were deferred; which occaſioned the Deſtruction of his Army, and the total Loſs of the Kingdom of *Naples*: And his Allies would have ſuffered in Proportion, had they not taken Care of themſelves, without relying on his Promiſes. A. D. 1496.

IT has been ſaid, that rather to content *Lodovico*, who was frightened at the intended Expedition of the *French*, than out of any Deſire of the *Venetians*, a Treaty was begun in order to bring *Maximilian* into *Italy*. And it had been ſtipu-

A. D. 1496. lated that *Lodovico* and the *Venetians* ſhould pay him a Subſidy of Twenty Thouſand Ducats a Month for Three Months, to defray the Charges of the Horſe and Foot that were to accompany him. As ſoon as the Articles had been ſettled, *Lodovico* took with him the Ambaſſadors of the Allies, and went to *Manzo*, a Place beyond the *Alps* on the Borders of *Germany*, where he was met by *Maximilian*. After a long Conference, *Lodovico* came back to *Bormi*, a Village in his own Dominions on this Side the *Alps*; and *Cæſar* the next Day, under Pretext of going a Hunting, came to the ſame Place, where, in two Days, the Time and Manner of his Paſſage into *Italy* were adjuſted; and then *Maximilian* returned into *Germany*, to haſten the Execution of what had been projected.

NOT long after *Lodovico*'s Fears were diſſipated, there being no Appearance of a *French* Invaſion, and conſequently no Occaſion for the King of the *Romans* to march into *Italy*; but *Lodovico* was ſtill deſirous, that what he had procured before

for

for his Safety, might now be effected to ſerve his Ambition: So he continued to apply to *Maximilian*. And becauſe the *Venetians* refuſed to pay their Proportion of the Thirty Thouſand Ducats that *Maximilian* demanded, over and above the Sixty Thouſand already agreed for, he promiſed to be anſwerable for them himſelf; *Maximilian* then came into *Italy*. When he was near *Milan*, he heard the News of *Ferdinando*'s Deceaſe, and immediately entertained Thoughts of procuring the *Neapolitan* Crown to be placed on *Giovanni*, the King of *Spain*'s only Child, and his Son-in-Law. But *Lodovico* having convinced him, that this would extremely diſſatisfy the *Italians*, and diſunite the Confederates, which of courſe would facilitate the Deſigns of the *French*, he not only gave up his Point, but writ Letters in Favour of *Federigo*'s Succeſſion.

A. D. 1496.

Maximilian comes into *Italy*.

MAXIMILIAN brought with him an inconſiderable * Force; but gave out, that

* His Attendance was ſo ſmall, that he was aſhamed of it; and to avoid the Crowds that flocked about him, he avoided going into *Como* and *Milan*.

A. D. 1496. that very ſoon he ſhould be followed by a larger Body, which would complete the Number he had engaged to furniſh. He ſtopped at *Vigevano*; where, in a Council held in his Preſence, at which aſſiſted *Lodovico*, the Cardinal *Santa Croce* the Pope's Legate, and the Ambaſſadors of the Allies, it was propoſed to go into *Piedmont*, in order to take *Aſti*, and detach from the *French* Intereſt the Duke of *Savoy* and the Marquis of *Monferrato*, who were Members of the Empire, and were ſummoned to meet and confer with his Majeſty, in ſome Town in *Piedmont*: But his Forces were too ſmall to give Authority to his Commands; neither of theſe Princes took any Notice of his Orders, nor was there any Likelihood of ſucceeding before *Aſti*. He alſo cited the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was a Feudatory of the Empire, as being in Poſſeſſion of *Modena* and *Reggio*, and for the Security of his Perſon he offered to pledge the Word and Faith of *Lodovico*: But the Duke refuſed to comply, ſaying, 'He could not in Honour take ſuch a Step, whilſt

whilſt he had in his Cuſtody the *Caſtelletto* of *Genoa*.' A. D. 1496.

LODOVICO was very uneaſy at the Thoughts of *Piſa*'s falling into the Hands of the *Venetians*; as it both checked his Ambition, and endangered the Liberties of all *Italy*: He therefore preſſed *Maximilian* to go to *Piſa*, perſuading himſelf with fallacious Reaſonings, that the *Florentines*, not being able to reſiſt their united Strength, would then be forced to quit their Alliance with *France*: He imagined they could not refuſe to make *Maximilian* Umpire of their Diſputes with the *Piſans*, who might put an End to all their Differences, either by bringing them into ſome Agreement, or by deciding according to Equity: And in the mean time *Lodovico* propoſed, that *Piſa* and its Territory ſhould be depoſited in *Maximilian*'s Hands; not doubting but he had Authority enough with the *Piſans* to get their Conſent. He flattered himſelf that the *Venetians* could not in Honour reject a Propoſal ſo juſt in itſelf, and that ſeemed ſo well calculated for the common Good, eſpe-

A. D. 1496. eſpecially if inſiſted on by the reſt of the Allies. *Piſa* had formerly been an imperial Town; and therefore it ſeemed reaſonable, when *Maximilian* was preſent, that his Majeſty, preferable to any other, ſhould decide any one's Pretenſions to that City. And *Sforza* was perſuaded that when *Piſa* was thus depoſited, with his Money, and the Intereſt he had with *Maximilian*, it might be an eaſy Matter for him to compaſs his Ends. *Maximilian* did not diſlike the Motion; for he was unwilling to have it thought that his March into *Italy* had been of no ſort of Importance. Again, he had been ſo extravagant and prodigal, and ſpent ſo much Money in vain Projects, that he was in extreme Want; and he hoped that this Affair of *Piſa* would be very beneficial, and procure him large Sums from the *Florentines*, or from ſome of the Allies. The Propoſition was approved by the Confederates, as greatly conducive to the Security of *Italy*: Nor was it contradicted by the *Venetian* Ambaſſador. The Senate was well appriſed of *Lodovico*'s Intentions, but made no doubt of thwarting his Deſigns,

ſigns, as alſo of getting, thro' *Maximilian*'s Means, the Port of *Livorno* annexed to the *Piſan* Dominion; which would for ever deprive the *Florentines* of all Hopes of recovering the City of *Piſa*. A. D. 1496.

THE Allies had often ſollicited the *Florentines* to act in concert with them; and when the ill Conſequences of the Paſſage of the *French* were apprehended, they had obliged themſelves to prevail with the *Piſans* to return under their Dominion. But the *Florentines* would not truſt the *Venetians* nor *Lodovico*; and being no way diſpoſed to depart from their Alliance with *France*, were always deaf to Sollicitations of that kind. Beſides, they expected that on the Arrival of the *French* King, *Pietra Santa*, and *Sarzana* would be reſtored them; which they could never hope to obtain by means of the Confederates. They had, moreover, ſuch Confidence in their own Merit, for the Services they had rendered the Crown of *France*, that without giving themſelves the Leiſure to think on the preſent King's Temper and Politics, they took for granted he

A. D. 1496. he would not only reſtore *Piſa*, but put them in Poſſeſſion of all *Tuſcany*. *Girolamo Savanorola* flattered them in theſe Hopes, and predicted in his Sermons, that the Calamities of the Republic would be turned into Proſperity, and Increaſe of Dominion: Denouncing, at the ſame Time, terrible Judgments to the Court of *Rome*, and to the reſt of the *Italian* Powers. Many judicious Perſons deſpiſed both the Preacher and his Predictions; yet the Bulk of the People generally paid a great Regard to all he ſaid, and amongſt them not a few of the moſt conſiderable Citizens; ſome out of Simplicity, ſome out of Ambition, and others out of Fear. It was therefore no Wonder that the Allies ſhould be ſo deſirous to compel the *Florentines* to break an Alliance that was ſo prejudicial to the common Cauſe; eſpecially as it did not ſeem to be attended with many Difficulties. For the *Florentines* were obnoxious to their Neighbours, and could have no Hopes of any preſent Aſſiſtance from the King of *France*; who would hardly give himſelf any Concern for their Affairs, when,

when, with ſo much Indolence, he had abandoned his own natural Subjects at *Naples*; and they were ſo drained of Money by this War, which had now laſted Three Years, that they were in no Condition to carry it on much longer. *A. D.* 1496.

THE Operations of this Year's Campaign in the *Piſan* were remarkable only for the Regularity of the military Exploits, and Reſolution on both Sides; for their Armies were not numerous, nor the Places they beſieged of any Note; being only ſome Caſtles, hardly known to Foreigners by their Names, and of themſelves of little Conſequence. Shortly after the Citadel had been given up to the *Piſans*, and before the Arrival of the *Venetian* Succours, the *Florentines* took the Caſtle of *Buti*, and ſet down before *Calci*; where, to ſecure a Paſs for Proviſions, they erected a Fort on *Mont Doloroſa*; but the Guard they had poſted was ſurpriſed and cut to Pieces. Not long after the *Piſans* ſallied out and ſurpriſed *Franceſco Secco*, who, with a good Body of Horſe, was poſted in the Suburbs

A. D. 1496. Suburbs of *Buti*, to protect the Convoys of Proviſions that were conſtantly going to *Ercole Bentivoglio*, who, with the *Florentine* Foot, was beſieging a little Fort on the *Verrucola*. *Franceſco*, pent up amongſt the Houſes, had no Room to extend his Horſe, and therefore loſt a good Number of them. Theſe Advantages had raiſed the Spirits of the *Piſans*, which ſtill increaſed on the Approach of the *Venetians*.

ERCOLE BENTIVOGLIO had his Head Quarters in the Caſtle of *Bientina*, when the firſt Column of the *Venetian* Forces, under *Gianpagolio Manfroni*, arrived at *Vico Piſano*, within Two Miles of that Place. *Ercole* drew out his Troops, but at the Approach of the *Venetians*, feigning Fear, retired again into *Bientina*. After he had ſeveral Days amuſed the Enemy in this Manner, when he found that by his Stratagem he had taught them to think themſelves ſecure, he took an Opportunity of drawing them into an Ambuſh, where they were totally defeated, moſt of them killed on the Spot, and the reſt purſued

as

as far as the Walls of *Vico Piſano*. But the Joy of this Victory was allayed by the Loſs of *Franceſco Secco*, who had joined *Ercole* that Morning, and was killed by a Muſket Shot *. The Remainder of the *Venetians*, with Eight Hundred Stradiotti, ſoon arrived, under the Conduct of the Proveditor *Giuſtiniano Moreſino*. *Bentivoglio* now finding himſelf inferior, but not willing to quit the Field, kept on the Defenſive, and poſſeſſing himſelf of a very ſtrong Poſt, between the Caſtle of *Pontadera* and the River *Era*, continually harraſſed the Enemy, and prevented them, after they had taken *Caſtel Buti*, which ſurrendered at Diſcretion, from getting Poſſeſſion of any other Place. He had alſo the good Fortune to defeat Three Hundred of their Stradiotti, who were ravaging the Country about *Valdera*.

A. D. 1496.

Franceſco Secco killed.

THE *Florentines* were, at this Juncture, infeſted alſo by the *Seneſe*, who, encouraged

* Both *Giovio* and *Bembo* aſcribe the Glory of this Action to *Franceſco Secco*, without ſo much as mentioning *Bentivoglio*.

A. D. 1496. raged by the Allies, took this Opportunity to ſend the Lord of *Piombono* and *Giovanni Savelli*, at the Head of ſome Troops, againſt them. They came as far as the Foot of *Valiano* Bridge; but on hearing that *Rinuccio da Moriano* was moving towards them, they retired in great Diſorder, leaving behind part of their Artillery. The *Florentine* Army, being reinforced by the Troops under *Rinuccio*, was not inferior to the Enemy; and having now ſecured all about *Valiano*, the War was confined amongſt the Forts on the Hills; where the Inhabitants, having an Affection for the *Piſans*, and always running in to their Aſſiſtance when any Skirmiſhes happened, the *Florentines* were commonly worſted. By the Favour of ſome of their People in *Ponte Sacco*, the *Piſans* were let into that Caſtle, where they ſtripped and plundered a Regiment of Men at Arms, and took *Lodovico da Marciano* Priſoner; after which they abandoned the Place, which would have been difficult to preſerve, and poſted themſelves on the Hills; over which the Convoys of Proviſions that ſupplied *Piſa* were obliged to paſs. They alſo fortified

fortified all the Caſtles in that Diſtrict, in order to cut off the Communication between *Livorno* and the Enemies Camp. One of theſe little Forts became memorable by an unfortunate Accident. The *Florentines* having formed a Deſign to attack *Sojano*, had broke up all the Roads leading to it from the River *Curſino*, and had poſted Men on the Banks to prevent all Succours. When every Thing was ready for opening the Siege, *Piero Capponi*, the *Florentine* Commiſſary, was ſhot through the Head by a Muſket Ball from the Place, as he was giving Orders to play the Artillery: Too ignoble a Death for ſo brave a Commander; who, if deſtined to meet his Fate in the Field, deſerved to fall in ſome more conſiderable Action, for the taking of this mean Place was of little Importance. On this melancholy Accident the Siege was raiſed. The *Florentines* were alſo obliged to ſend Forces into the *Lunegiana*, which came time enough to ſave the *Verrucola*, beſieged by the *Genoeſe* and the Marquiſſes of *Maleſpina* *. THE

A. D. 1496.

Piero Capponi killed

* The Marquiſſes of *Maleſpina* had of long time been Sovereigns

A. D. 1496.

THE *Piſans*, for ſome Months paſt, had been able to cope with the *Florentines*; not only becauſe they had been joined by great Numbers of Men, that came out of their own Villages, who were trained and muſtered, and by doing conſtant Duty, were become good Soldiers, but had alſo received conſiderable Supplies both of Horſe and Foot from *Ludovico*, and from the *Venetians*; the laſt, indeed, far exceeded the Number of the former, who daily diminiſhed for Want of Pay; for which Reaſon the *Venetians* thought it neceſſary to ſend another Recruit of One Hundred Lances and Six light Gallies full of Proviſions. That provident Senate ſpared no Expence that was required to protect *Piſa*, and to gain the Good-will of the Inhabitants; who daily grew cooler in their Affections for the Duke of *Milan*, for his neglecting the

Sovereigns of great part of the *Lunegiana*. *Mertio Juſtone*, of a noble *Roman* Family, was the firſt that ſettled there; from *Martii* their Name was changed to *Maleſpina*, for Reaſons given in the Hiſtory of *Milan*, and more particularly by *Porcacchi*.

the Payment of his Forces, and for acting with ſo much Inconſtancy. Sometimes, for Example, he would ſeem very ſollicitous for their Welfare, and at others ſo indifferent, that they began to ſuſpect, that it was at his Inſtance *Giovanni Bentivoglio* had not attacked the *Florentines* according to the Orders ſent him by the Allies. *Bentivoglio* alledged, that *Lodovico* had not provided him with Money according to Engagement; which the *Piſans* thought proceeded either out of Avarice, or rather, that he deſigned to chaſtiſe, but not totally depreſs the *Florentines*; which, indeed, plainly now appeared by propoſing *Maximilian*'s Journey to *Piſa*. *A. D.* 1496.

MAXIMILIAN having fixed his Reſolution to viſit *Piſa*, ſent two Ambaſſadors to *Florence*, to notify, that he had thought proper to paſs into *Italy*, before he undertook a War againſt the Infidels; that he might firſt make and eſtabliſh Peace amongſt the *Italian* Potentates. He therefore required, that in concert with the reſt of the Confederates,

A. D. 1496. they would unite in the Defence of their Country; and if that was not their Intention, he inſiſted on their declaring themſelves. That he was reſolved to make Uſe of his Imperial Authority in regard to *Piſa*, and would be the ſole Judge of their Differences with the *Piſans*. In the mean time he enjoined them to deſiſt from all Hoſtilities till his Arrival, as he was ſure would be done on the Part of the *Piſans*, to whom he had ſent the ſame Orders; enforcing all with many ſmooth Proteſtations of his Honour, and of his Reſolution to decide according to the ſtricteſt Rules of Juſtice. The Anſwer was, 'That they highly commended his Majeſty's good Intentions; that they had a great Opinion of his Uprightneſs; and would ſoon ſignify to him their Reſolutions.

In the mean time the *Venetians*, to prevent either *Maximilian* or *Lodovico* from ſeizing on *Piſa*, with the Conſent of the *Piſans*, immediately ſent thither *Annibale Bentivoglio*, with One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and ſoon after a Squadron of Stradiotti, and One Thou-

ſand Foot; and they declared to *Lodovico*, that as their Republic ever protected free Cities, they had ſent this Reinforcement to the *Piſans*, to enable them to recover the reſt of their Forts on the Hills that were in the Poſſeſſion of the *Florentines*. This Memorial had the deſired Effect. A. D. 1496.

THIS Readineſs of the *Venetians* endeared them to the *Piſans*, who were never refuſed any of their Demands; which, indeed, were many and frequent, for Proviſions, Ammunition, Troops, and Money. They were ſo captivated with the Senate for ſo heartily eſpouſing their Cauſe, that all the Confidence and Eſteem they formerly had in the Duke of *Milan*, were now transferred to the *Venetians*; yet they ſollicited the Emperor to haſten his March, in hopes that their own Forces, united to his, might make them Maſters of *Livorno*.

ON the other Hand the *Florentines* laboured under a Scarcity of all Neceſſaries, and were very apprehenſive that they ſhould not be able to reſiſt ſo powerful

A. D. 1496. an Alliance. They had not a ſingle *Italian* Prince in their Intereſt; and they were informed by their Agents in *France*, that there was no Hopes of any Aſſiſtance from the King, whom they had earneſtly preſſed to help them, at leaſt with a Sum of Money. All the Comfort they had in their Misfortunes was, that they were under no Apprehenſions from *Piero de Medici:* For the Allies had agreed in Council not to mention his Name; having found by Experience, that the Fear of his Reſtoration had no other Effect than to unite them more firmly in the Preſervation of their Liberties.

Lodovico all this while, under Dread of the *Venetian* Power, was heartening the *Florentines*, and perſuading them to leave all their Diſputes to the Deciſion of the King of the *Romans*. He remonſtrated the Danger they would be expoſed to, if they refuſed this Expedient; which was the only one that could wreſt *Piſa* from the *Venetians*, and reinſtate them in that Dominion, which was neceſſary for the Safety of *Italy*, and was the Deſire of the King

King of *Spain*, and agreeable to the Sentiments of the Confederates. But the *Florentines*, neither moved with theſe vain and inſidious Counſels, nor in the leaſt terrified with the impending Difficulties and Dangers, reſolved to give no farther Anſwer to *Cæſar*, nor leave any thing to his Determination, unleſs they were firſt put in Poſſeſſion of *Piſa*; for they put no Confidence in his Favour, nor ſtood in Fear of his Authority: It being well known, that having neither Forces nor Money, he acted as the Duke of *Milan* directed him; and as they ſaw no Diſpoſition in the *Venetians* to quit *Piſa*, they ordered *Livorno* to be well fortified; and aſſembled all their Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Piſa*. That they might not, however, ſeem averſe to Peace, and to endeavour to gain *Maximilian*, they ſent Ambaſſadors to him at *Genoa*; whoſe Inſtructions were to let him know, that any ſort of Declaration on their Part was needleſs; ſince the Reverence they had for his Name, was ſufficient to make them comply with any thing he ſhould deſire of them; that to attain the laudable Reſo-

A. D. 1496.

The *Florentines* ſend Ambaſſadors to *Maximilian*.

A. D. 1496. Reſolution he had taken of giving Peace to *Italy*, nothing could be more conducive than the immediate Reſtoration of *Piſa* to the *Florentines:* For from this Root ſprung all the Meaſures that occaſioned ſo much Uneaſineſs to himſelf, and to the Allies; that *Piſa* was the Motive that encouraged a certain Power, meaning the *Venetians*, to aſpire to the Dominion of all *Italy*; that it would caſt an Imputation on his Juſtice, and was beſides contrary to the Imperial Laws, to expect a Treaty on any other Footing than an immediate Reſtoration of an unjuſt and violent Seizure: Concluding, that if by his Majeſty's Influence and Authority they ſhould be reinſtated in the Dominion of *Piſa*, they were ready to make any Declaration conformable to his Deſire; and, confiding in his Juſtice, were willing then to be determined by him in all their Rights.

CÆSAR was no ways pleaſed with this Ambaſſy: He expected that, on his promiſing to reinſtate them after a limited Time in the Dominion of *Piſa*, they ſhould

ſhould have immediately acceded to the League; and therefore returned the Ambaſſadors no Anſwer till the Inſtant he was getting on board a Ship in the Mole of *Genoa*, when he turned to them, and ſaid, They might know his Mind from the Pope's Legate in that City. The Legate referred them to *Lodovico*, who had attended the Emperor to *Tortona*, and was returned to *Milan*, whither the Ambaſſadors repaired. But whilſt they were waiting for an Audience, they received an Expreſs from *Florence*, where the Reſult of their Ambaſſy was already known, with Orders to return, without conferring with the Duke. So that when they were admitted to *Lodovico*'s Preſence, they only ſaid, 'That on account of the Friendſhip that ſubſiſted between his Highneſs and their Republic, they thought it their Duty not to paſs through his Dominions without paying him their Reſpects in Perſon.' A. D. 1496.

THE Duke, on a Suppoſition they were come to receive *Ceſar*'s Anſwer, in order to make a Shew, as he did on all Occa-

A. D. 1496. Occaſions, of his Eloquence and political Artifices, had ſummoned the Ambaſſadors of the Allies to be preſent at this Meeting; intending to make himſelf merry with his Neighbours Calamities, He could not diſſemble his Surprize and Confuſion at this Compliment of the Ambaſſadors; and therefore aſked them, 'What Anſwer they had received from *Cæſar*?' They replied, 'That according to the Laws of their Republic, they were not allowed to diſcourſe on the Subject of their Ambaſſy to any other Prince, but to him to whom they were delegated.' *Lodovico*, in great Agitation, ſaid, 'If I ſhould give you his Anſwer, which you know he has intruſted me with, I ſuppoſe then you would not hear it?' They replied, 'That to hear was not prohibited, nor could they hinder any body from ſpeaking.' 'Then, ſays the Duke, I am willing to tell it you; but I cannot, unleſs you let me know what you ſaid to him.' They anſwered, 'That was not allowed them for the ſame Reaſons they had before given; and beſides, it would be ſuperfluous, becauſe *Cæſar* could not employ any

Lodovico baffled by the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors.

any one to give an Anſwer, without communicating to the ſame Perſon what had been demanded.' *Lodovico* was not able any longer to diſſemble his Diſappointment; he abruptly diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, and became himſelf the Subject of thoſe Sneers he intended to put on the *Florentine* Miniſters. A. D. 1496.

CÆSAR embarked on board the Gallies that the *Venetians* kept on the *Tuſcan* Seas, and was attended by a good Fleet of *Genoeſe* Veſſels, well equipped, but with few Troops; there being only One Thouſand *German* Foot on board. He landed at *Porto Spezzie*; from whence he proceeded to *Piſa* by Land, where he met Five Hundred Horſe, and aſſembled another Thouſand *German* Foot, that had marched thither by Land; with theſe he joined *Lodovico*'s Forces and ſome *Venetian* Troops, with an Intent to beſiege *Livorno* both by Land and Sea. He ordered a Detachment of *Venetians* to march to the Bridge of *Sacco*, to prevent the *Florentines*, who were not very numerous, from inſulting *Piſa*, or relieving *Livorno*. For this

A. D. 1496. this laſt Place the Republic was in no ſort of Concern, ſince it was extremely well provided with Men and Ammunition, and they daily expected a Reinforcement from *Provence*: For as the *French* Soldiery were in great Eſteem, to give a greater Reputation to their Army, they had, with the King's Leave, inliſted Monſ. *d'Albigeois*, one of his Officers, with One Hundred Lances, and One Thouſand *Swiſs* and *Gaſcon* Foot; who were to be tranſported to *Livorno* on board a Fleet of Veſſels they had hired, and loaded with Wheat, of which there was a great Scarcity in *Tuſcany*. This Succour, when firſt ſollicited, was not intended againſt *Caſar*; and was with much Difficulty brought over: For *d'Albigeois* and his Men, when all was ready, refuſed to go on board; and only Six Hundred embarked. This Fleet conſiſted of Five Ships and ſome Galleons, and a large Ship of *Normandy* *, that was bound for *Gaeta* with a Supply of Men and Proviſions,

* *Vitelloxio* and *Carlo Orſini* were ſent with the *Normanda*, laden with *French* Money: This Ship was of Twelve Hundred Tons Burthen, and the others about Four Hundred. *Giovio* and *Bembo*.

Proviſions. There never was a Relief more ſeaſonable; for the very Day that *Cæſar* had ſent a *Piſan* Commiſſary to *Livorno*, with a ſtrong Party of Pioneers, to make Bridges and mend the Roads, for the eaſy Paſſage of the Army, this Fleet appeared under ſail with a proſperous Wind, and in no Danger of being attacked by *Maximilian*'s Ships, which were retired under the *Melora* * (a Rock famous for the entire Overthrow and Deſtruction of the *Piſan* Fleet by the *Genoeſe*) and got ſafe into Port, without any other Damage than the Loſs of one Galleon, laden with Corn, that ſeparated from the reſt, and was taken. This gave great Courage to the *Livorneſe*, and added Spirits to the *Florentines*; who now ſeemed to think themſelves under the immediate Care of Heaven, as *Savanarola* had, for ſeveral Days before, been preaching to the terrified Populace. A. D. 1496.

But

* This Defeat of the *Piſans* was that perhaps in 1284, at a Place called *Veronica*, Three Miles from the Port. *Moroſini* the *Podeſta* of *Piſa*, and ſuch a Number of Noblemen were taken, that the *Tuſcans* uſed to ſay, that if any one wanted to ſee *Piſa*, he muſt go to *Genoa*. *Giuſtiniani*, lib. 3.

A. D. 1496.

Siege of *Livorno.*

But this did not prevent *Maximilian* from opening the Siege; he ſent Five Hundred Men at Arms, One Thouſand Horſe, and Four Thouſand Foot by Land; and went himſelf on board the Gallies to the Mouth of the Lake that lies between *Piſa* and *Livorno*. He gave Orders to Count *Gajazzo*, whom the Duke of *Milan* had ſent to attend him, to make a Breach on one Side of the Town, and poſted himſelf on the other with ſome Difficulty, on account of the Artillery that played very briſkly upon him from the Town. His firſt Attempt was on the Port, to obtain which he drew his Men on the Side of the Fountain, and began to fire on *Magnano*, that was ſtrongly fortified. The Beſieged razed the *Palazotto*, and the little Tower near the Sea, as it could not be defended, and if taken might endanger the new Tower. *Maximilian* then ordered his Veſſels to approach the Shore, which they did very ſafely: For no Intreaties could prevail with the Maſters of the *French* Ships, after they had landed the Men and the Corn, to remain

remain with them ſome time; and the *Normanda* had already proceeded to *Gaeta*. A. D. 1496. The Attack on *Magnano*, which was made with an Intent to facilitate the Siege on the Sea Side, proved ineffectual: The Cannon of the Beſiegers did little Damage; and the frequent Sallies annoyed them. But Deſtiny had ordered, that the Hopes of the *Florentines*, which began with the Winds, ſhould alſo with their Favour be compleated: For a ſudden Storm aroſe, that ſhattered the Enemies Fleet, and drove to Sea the *Grimalda*, a Ship full of Artillery, that had brought *Cæſar* from *Genoa*; which, after toſſing to and fro for ſeveral Hours, was at laſt overſet oppoſite to the new Rock, with the Loſs of its Artillery, and all the Men; and the other Veſſels were ſo damaged, and diſperſed, that they were rendered uſeleſs for the Siege. The *Venetians* alſo loſt Two Ships in this Storm; and in the Confuſion the *Livorneſe* recovered the Galleon that had been taken in coming from *Provence*.

THIS Accident quite diſheartened

A. D. 1496. *Maximilian*; who, after ſeveral Conſultations, determined to raiſe the Siege, and undertake ſome other Exploit. He drew off, therefore, to *Vico Piſano*, and ordered a Bridge to be laid on the River *Arno*, between *Caſcina* and *Vico*, and another on the *Cilecchio*: But when every body expected he would paſs theſe Bridges, he ſuddenly directed his March towards *Milan*; having done no other Feat in *Tuſcany*, than that of pillaging with Four Hundred Horſe the obſcure Village of *Bolgheri*, in the Marſhes of *Piſa*. The Excuſe he made for this ſtrange Retreat was, that the *Venetians* miſtruſting him, had refuſed to withdraw their Forces from *Piſa*, and had not paid him all their Quota of the Seventy Thouſand Ducats. He complained every where of this bad Uſage; but at the ſame time extremely commended the Conduct of *Lodovico*. At *Pavia* he held a great Council, and declared his Reſolution of returning into *Germany*; but propoſed afterwards to remain in *Italy* all the Winter, with One Thouſand Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot; provided he was allowed every Month

The Siege of *Livorno* raiſed.

Month Twenty-two Thouſand Florins of the *Rhine*. He next proceeded to the *Lomellina*, to wait there for the Anſwer of the *Venetians*; from whence, whilſt every one expected he would have gone to *Milan*, which had been a prudent Step, as it afterwards appeared, changing his Mind, he returned to *Cuſago*, a Place within Six Miles of that Capital; then, without acquainting the Duke, or any one, he went ſuddenly to *Como*; where he was told that the Pope's Legate was arrived, tho' he had been ordered not to follow him; at which, riſing from Dinner, he embarked in ſuch Haſte, that the Legate had hardly Time to ſpeak a few Words to him at the Head of the Boat before he put off. *Maximilian* told him, that his Affairs called him into *Germany*, but that he ſhould ſoon return. At *Bell' Agio* *, on the Lake of *Como*, he was informed, that the *Venetians* had agreed to

A. D. 1496.

* *Bell' Agio* is a delicious Promontory in the Lake of *Como*; on the Top there was a famous Stone Caſtle, which in 1357 was demoliſhed by *Gio. Galeazzo Viſconti*, Duke of *Milan*, becauſe it was a Receptacle for Thieves and Aſſaſſins. The Family of the *Sfondrati* have now a magnificent Palace on that Spot.

A. D. 1496. his Propoſal; on which he made them believe he would return to *Milan*. But a few Days after, with his uſual Inſtability, leaving behind the moſt part of his Troops, he returned into *Germany*, after giving a mean Idea of his Power to the *Italians*, who for a long Time before had not ſeen an Emperor at the Head of an Army in their Country.

THE Departure of *Maximilian* made *Lodovico* deſpair of getting Poſſeſſion of *Piſa*, or expelling from thence the *Venetians*; unleſs ſome unforeſeen Accident ſhould preſent itſelf. He therefore recalled his Troops, comforting himſelf in this Misfortune, that the *Venetians* would have the whole Weight of that War on their Hands: And he was not without Hopes, that this might be the Cauſe of ſomething turning out to his Advantage.

THE Duke's Forces being withdrawn, the *Florentines*, by their Superiority, were enabled to act offenſively, and immediately poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Caſtles

Caſtles that were on the Hills; which obliged the *Venetians* to increaſe their Troops, ſo as to have in the whole Four Hundred Lances, Seven Hundred Light-Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot. *A. D.* 1496.

THE War in the Kingdom of *Naples* was all this while drawing to a Concluſion: for the City of *Taranto*, with the Caſtles, oppreſſed by Famine, ſurrendered to the *Venetians*, who had beſieged it with their Fleet. The Senate did not care to part with this Acquiſition; but to quell the Murmurs of the People, who ſuſpected that they intended to annex it to their own Dominions, at the Inſtances of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, they at laſt delivered it up to *Federigo*. *Taranto* ſurrenders to *Federigo*

THE *French* at *Gaeta* were informed how the Ship *Normanda*, that was coming to their Relief, after diſengaging herſelf from ſome *Genoeſe* Ships that had attacked her near Port *Hercole*, was in a violent Storm unfortunately caſt away. At this News they gave up all Hopes of keeping *Gaeta*, which was beſieged by the young The *Normanda* caſt away.

A. D. 1496. King; for tho' they were ſupplied with a Sufficiency of Proviſions for ſome Months, yet they had no Reaſon to think that their King would be more ſollicitous in aſſiſting them, than he had been in preſerving ſo many other Towns, and ſo great a Number of his Nobility. On theſe Conſiderations they ſent to *Aubigni*, who, on account of ſome Diſputes concerning the Evacuation of the Towns in *Calabria*, was ſtill in the Kingdom; and through his Means it was agreed, that they ſhould give up the Town and Caſtle, and be permitted to tranſport themſelves to *France*, with all their Effects.

Gaeta ſurrenders.

CHARLES was now freed from the Trouble of ſuccouring the Kingdom of *Naples*; but vexed at his Loſs and Miſcarriage, he believed that he might, in ſome Meaſure, retrieve his Honour, if he could poſſeſs himſelf of *Genoa*. He had a Dependance on his Friendſhip with *Battiſtino Fregoſo* the former Doge, and with the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, who was a Native of *Savona*; both Men of great Intereſt in their Country; The Diſ-

King *Charles's* Deſign on *Genoa*.

Diſcontent between *Gianluigi del Fieſco* and the Family of the *Adorni*, ſeemed to favour his Deſign. Moreover the *Genoeſe* were in general diſſatisfied with the Duke of *Milan*, ever ſince he had been the Author of ſelling *Pietra Santa* to the *Luccheſe*, preferably to themſelves; and more ſo when they found out, that it was only to amuſe them that he had given them Hopes the *Venetians* would prevail on the *Luccheſe* to let them have it for a Sum of Money: A Thing he never intended. *A. D.* 1496.

LODOVICO was ſo alarmed at this new Project, that, notwithſtanding his Diſguſt with the *Venetians*, on account of their Conduct at *Piſa*, he reſolved to make an Alliance with them; and to ſend to *Genoa* the Horſe and Foot that *Maximilian* had left in *Italy*: Which proved fortunate for thoſe Troops, who would have been deſtitute of any Proviſion if this Accident had not happened. *Lodovico* ſends Troops to *Genoa*.

WHILST this was in Agitation, the Pope thought he had a fair Opportunity

A. D. 1497. of ſeizing the Eſtates of the *Orſini*, whilſt the Heads of that Family were detained Priſoners at *Naples*. With this View, in the Beginning of the Year 1497, in the Conſiſtory, he pronounced them Rebels, and declared their Eſtates confiſcated, for entering into the *French* Service without his Permiſſion: After which he attacked ſome of their Towns, and ordered the *Colonnas* to ſeize on thoſe that bordered on their Dominions *. Cardinal *Aſcanio* gave great Encouragement to this Undertaking, both on account of his Friendſhip with the *Colonna* Family, and his Enmity to the *Orſini*. *Lodovico* alſo gave his Approbation; but the *Venetians* were diſſatisfied, as being intereſted in the Welfare of the *Orſini*: Yet as they could not juſtify, with any colour of Reaſon, whatever Oppoſition they ſhould make, and did not care, at this Juncture, to draw upon themſelves the Pontiff's Anger, they ſeemed content; and permitted the Duke of *Urbino*, their Commander in Chief, to

* *Alexander* uſed to call the *Roman* Barons the Pope's Fetters. He laid hold of this Opportunity to humble the *Orſini*, which at the ſame Time enabled him to enrich his Children. *Giovio*.

to join the Pope's Forces, that were under the Duke of *Candia*, and had amongſt them as Legate Cardinal *da Luna* of *Pavia*, a Dependant of *Aſcanio*: *Federigo* alſo ſent *Fabritio Colonna* to *Alexander*'s Aſſiſtance. This Army, after taking ſeveral Towns, with little Oppoſition, inveſted *Trivignano*, which, after a vigorous Defence, ſurrendered at Diſcretion. But, during the Siege, *Bartolomeo Alviano* ſallied out of *Bracciano*, and within Eight Miles of *Rome*, cut to Pieces Four Hundred Horſe, that were eſcorting the heavy Cannon to the Eccleſiaſtical Army: And another Day, near the Croſs of *Montemari*, he had like to have ſurprized Cardinal *Valenza*, as he was Hunting without the Walls of *Rome*; but he ſaved himſelf by getting into *Trivignano*. The Papalins * afterwards took *Liſola*, which ſurrendered after the Fort had ſuſtained a ſhort Battery; and now they were to compleat the War with the Reduction of *Bracciano*, in which lay all the Hopes of the *Orſini*. This Town, which was ſtrong

A. D. 1497.

* The Pope's Army is called by the Hiſtorians the Eccleſiaſtic Army, the Papalins, and the Eccleſiaſtics.

A. D. 1497. ſtrong before, had been lately repaired, and ſtored with Proviſions; its Suburb was alſo fortified with a new raiſed Baſtion in Front, and there was a numerous Garriſon commanded by *Alviano*, who was young, briſk, and trained up in military Exerciſes; and by the ſmall Specimens he had already given of his Conduct, no ways deceived thoſe who prognoſticated he would prove one of the beſt Captains of the Age. The Pope daily augmented his Army, and had lately inliſted Eight Hundred *German* Foot, of thoſe that had ſerved in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Bracciano beſieged. SEVERAL Batteries were erected againſt *Bracciano*, where the Beſieged defended themſelves very gallantly, and repaired, with great Diligence, the Breaches: Yet after ſome Days they were compelled to quit the Suburb, which the Eccleſiaſtic Forces took Poſſeſſion of, and immediately made an Attack on the Town: But notwithſtanding they had fixed their Standard on the Walls, they were beaten off with great Slaughter, and *Antonello Savello* was wounded in the Action. In another Attack

Attack the Beſieged behaved with equal Bravery, and repulſed the Papalins, who were obliged to retire after the Loſs of above Two Hundred of their Men killed and diſabled. The Honour of this Action was intirely attributed to *Alviano*; as alſo the Glory of ſo noble a Defence: He kept his own People in perfect Order and Diſcipline, harraſſed the Enemy both Day and Night, without giving them any Reſt, and gained alſo great Applauſe by the following Stratagem: From *Cerveiri* he ordered a Party of Horſe to ride out, as it were to reconnoitre the Enemy's Camp; and whilſt they, taking the Bait, in a diſorderly Manner went to repel them, he ſallied out, put to flight the Foot that guarded the Artillery, and brought back ſome ſmall Pieces with him into *Bracciano*. But notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, it was impoſſible for that Town to hold out without a timely Succour; on which all *Alviano*'s Hopes depended.

A. D. 1497.

Alviano's Stratagem

CARLO ORSINI and *Vitellozzo* being both of the *Guelf* Party, were firmly by that Tye united. They firſt procured Money

A. D. 1497. Money from the *French* King, to recruit and get together their broken Regiments, that had ſuffered, and been diſperſed over the Kingdom of *Naples*; then took the Opportunity of ſome *Provence* Veſſels bound for *Italy*, and were landed at *Leghorn*. *Carlo Orſini* went to *Soriano* to muſter his old Soldiers, and the Friends and Partiſans of his Family. *Vitellozzo* went on the ſame Errand to *Citta di Caſtello*, a Town under his Dominion, where he aſſembled his veteran Soldiers and Peaſants, and joyned them with Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Eighteen Hundred Foot he had brought with him, and placing his Artillery on *French* Carriages, he joined *Carlo* at *Soriano*.

The Siege of *Bracciano* raiſed.

THE Eccleſiaſtic Troops apprehending they might be incloſed between this Army and *Bracciano*, raiſed the Siege; and ſent the heavy Artillery into *Anguillara*. And leſt the Enemy ſhould ravage all the Country, as they had already done ſome Villages, they marched till they came up to them between *Soriano* and *Baſſano*, where there happened a ſmart En-

Engagement that laſted ſeveral Hours. *Franceſco Orſini* was at the Beginning of the Action taken Priſoner; but at laſt the Pope's Troops were put to Flight, after they had loſt above Five Hundred Men, with all their Artillery and Baggage. The Duke of *Urbino*, *Gian Piero di Gonzaga*, Count *Nugolara*, and ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction were taken Priſoners. The Duke of *Candia* was ſlightly wounded in the Face, and ſaved himſelf with the Legate, and *Fabritio Colonna* in *Ronciglione*. *Vitellozzo* had the Glory of this Victory; his Foot had been diſciplined under him and his Brothers according to the Foreign Manner; and he had provided Pikes two Foot longer than uſual, which gave him a great Advantage over the Enemy; who, by this new Invention, received mortal Stabs without being able to reach their Adverſaries. The gaining of this Battle was the more glorious for him, as there were in the Pope's Army Eight Hundred *German* Foot, who had created a Terror in the *Italians* ever ſince the Paſſage of *Charles* VIII.

A. D. 1497.

The Eccleſiaſtics defeated.

AFTER

A. D. 1497.

AFTER this Victory, the Conquerors began to make Incurſions all over the Country on this Side the *Tyber*, without any Controll; and ſome paſſed the River at *Monte Rotondo*, and ſcoured the only Road wherein the Papalins thought themſelves ſecure. The Pope loſt no Time in recruiting his Forces; and ſent to *Naples* for *Gonſalvo* and *Proſpero Colonna* to come to his Aſſiſtance. But not long after this Action, the *Venetians* and *Spaniards* interpoſed their good Offices; the firſt out of Love to the *Orſini*; and the laſt, for fear theſe Diſturbances might create others of greater Conſequence, and prove dangerous to the League. A Peace then was concluded, which was very agreeable to the Pope, who found himſelf immerged in a vaſt Expence, to which he was naturally averſe; and no leſs to the *Orſini*, who having neither Money, nor Allies of any great Importance, knew they muſt, ſooner or later, be over-powered.

Peace between the Pope and the *Orſini*.

THE Articles imported, That the *Orſini* ſhould be allowed to continue in the

The Articles.

the *French* Service, till the Time they had agreed was expired; but on Condition they ſhould not take up Arms againſt the Holy See. That all the Places taken from them ſhould be reſtored; for which they ſhould pay Fifty Thouſand Ducats to the Pope, Thirty Thouſand down, and the Remainder in Eight Months. That *Federigo* ſhould releaſe *Gian Giordano*, and *Pagolo Orſini*: As for *Virginio*, he died in *Caſtel dell' Uovo*, a few Days before, of a Fever; or, as ſome ſaid, of Poiſon. That *San Severino*, *Anguillara*, and *Cervetri*, ſhould be depoſited in the Hands of *Aſcanio*, till the Remainder of the Money was paid. All the Priſoners taken at the Battle of *Soriano* ſhould be releaſed, except the Duke of *Urbino*: This Condition was inſiſted on by the Pope, becauſe he knew the *Orſini* had it not in their Power to pay him the Money ſtipulated any other Way than by this Duke's Ranſom; which, as afterwards agreed, was to be Forty Thouſand Ducats; on Condition alſo, that *Pagolo Vitelli*, who was taken Priſoner at *Atella* by the Marquis of *Mantua*, ſhould be

A. D. 1497.

A. D. 1497. be releaſed without paying any thing for his Ranſom.

Gonſalvo takes Oſtia.

As ſoon as the Pope had terminated this inglorious War, and had paid the Troops which had been conducted by *Gonſalvo*, he ſent him with the ſame Forces to beſiege *Oſtia*, that held out for the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*. But as ſoon as the Artillery began to play, the Caſtle ſurrendered at Diſcretion. After which *Gonſalvo* entered *Rome* in a triumphant Manner, accompanied with One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light-Horſe, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, all *Spaniards*; with the Governor of the Caſtle, who went foremoſt in the Nature of a Priſoner, but was ſoon after ſet at Liberty. *Gonſalvo* was met by ſeveral Prelates, by the Pope's Houſhold, and by all the Cardinals; every one crowding to ſee a General whoſe Name was rendered ſo famous. He was conducted to the Pope ſitting in Conſiſtory, who received him with great Joy, and preſented him with the Roſe, which is given yearly to ſome Perſon of Diſtinction, as a Token

Enters Rome in Triumph.

of

of great Eſteem and Honour. *Gonſalvo* then returned to *Federigo*, who was employed in taking from the Prefect of *Rome* all the Towns that the King of *France* had given him, and which had belonged to the Marquis of *Peſcara*. He took *Sora* and *Arci*, but not their Forts. He then laid Siege to *Gugliena*, for he already had got by Treaty the State of Count *Uliveto*, before he ſold the Dutchy of *Sora* to the Prefect. A. D. 1497.

In the Midſt of all this Proſperity, *Federigo* was not without Anxieties and Troubles, that were occaſioned him as well by his Friends, (for *Gonſalvo* kept part of *Calabria* in the King of *Spain*'s Name) as from his reconciled Enemies. The Prince of *Biſignano* one Night coming out of *Caſtel Nuovo*, was dangerouſly wounded by a certain *Greek*: The Prince of *Salerno* was fully perſuaded that this was done by the King's Order, in Revenge of his former Actions; nor would he diſſemble his Suſpicion, but immediately quitted *Naples*, and went to *Salerno*. And tho' the King ordered the *Greek*, that

A. D. 1497. was in Priſon, to be conveyed to him, with a Permiſſion to chaſtiſe him in the ſevereſt Manner he thought proper; acquainting him at the ſame Time, that this Fact was perpetrated by the *Greek*, to revenge an Affront the Prince of *Biſignano* had ſome Years before given him in the Perſon of his Wife; yet, as it is not an eaſy Matter, after long and deep Enmities, to eſtabliſh a ſolid Friendſhip, which is commonly prevented either by Suſpicion, or Deſire of Revenge; ſo the Prince could never bring himſelf, after this, to truſt to *Federïgo*. The *French*, who were ſtill in Poſſeſſion of *Mont St. Angelo*, and a few other ſtrong Places, obſerving theſe Diſcontents, made greater Efforts to maintain themſelves, not without Hopes, that ſome Accident might turn out in their Favour.

In *Lombardy* there was Reaſon to apprehend great Calamities and Changes of Government, from the Motions of the *French*, who were now ſoon expected, as they had no Obſtruction from *Spain*. The Skirmiſhes that happened of late on thoſe

thoſe Frontiers, hardly deſerved the Name of a War; and nothing conſiderable was tranſacted. After the *French* had taken and burnt the Village of *Sals*, a Treaty was propoſed; and to facilitate the Concluſion of it, a Suſpenſion of Arms was agreed on for Two Months, in Hopes of ſettling, in that Time, all Differences. This gave *Charles* an Opportunity of attending to the Affairs of *Genoa* and *Savona*. He had already ſent to *Aſti* One Thouſand Lances, Three Thouſand *Swiſs*, and the ſame Number of *Gaſcons*, and given Orders to *Trivulzio*, his Lieutenant in *Italy*, to act in concert with *Battiſtino* and *Vincola*. The Duke of *Orleans* was to follow with a great Army, and was permitted to conquer the Dukedom of *Milan* for himſelf. To facilitate the Expedition againſt *Genoa*, the King ſent *Ottaviano Fregoſo* to *Florence*, requiring of that Republic, that they would attack the *Lunigiana* and the Eaſtern *Riviera*; whilſt, at the ſame Time, *Pagolo Battiſta Fregoſo*, with Six Gallies, annoyed the Weſtern.

A. D. 1497.

Expedition againſt *Genoa*.

A. D. 1497.

THESE Deſigns, when known to the Duke of *Milan*, affected him with ſo great a Terror, (eſpecially as he was not ſufficiently prepared, nor had yet received the Succours from the *Venetians*) that if the Expedition had been properly conducted, it might have produced important Effects; and perhaps ſooner in the *Milaneſe* than at *Genoa*: For through the Mediation of *Lodovico*, all Differences between *Gianluigi Fieſco* and the *Adorni* had been compoſed, and the State had provided a good Infantry, and put to Sea a large Fleet, at the Charge of the *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, which was reinforced with Six Gallies ſent by *Federigo*. The Pope retained the Name of a Confederate, but was ſo more in Appearance than in Reality; for he would not contribute any thing towards the Expence, either for the Land or Sea-Service.

THE Reſult of this Expedition was, that *Battiſtino* and *Trivulzio* marched to *Novi*, a Town from whence *Battiſtino* had been expelled by *Lodovico*, but where he

he ſtill kept Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle. *A. D.* 1497.
Count *Gajazzo* was Governor of *Novi*, and the Garriſon conſiſted of Sixty Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light-Horſe, and Five Hundred Foot; but at the Approach of *Battiſtino*, they all retired to *Saravalle*. The Acquiſition of *Novi* gave great Repute to the Fugitives, not only for its being a large Place, and of Note, but alſo for its Situation, becauſe it ſtopped the Paſſage from *Milan* to *Genoa*, and commanded the neighbouring Country. *Battiſtino* ſoon after took ſeveral Places in that Neighbourhood, whilſt the Cardinal, with Two Hundred Lances and Three Thouſand Foot, made himſelf Maſter of *Ventimiglia*, and approached *Savona*; but finding no Commotions in that City, and being informed that *Giovanni Adorno* was coming up with a ſtrong Body, he retired to *Altare*, a Village belonging to the Marquis of *Monferrato*, Eight Miles diſtant from *Savona*. *Novi* taken.

THERE was a greater Appearance of Succeſs from the Expedition conducted by *Trivulzio*. That General was deſirous

A. D. 1497. to give ſome Cauſe for commencing the War in the Dukedom of *Milan*; and therefore, tho' he had the King's poſitive Orders, not to commit any Hoſtility againſt that State, until the Affair of *Genoa* was determined; yet, without any Regard to thoſe Inſtructions, he ſurpriſed the important Caſtle of *Boſco* in the Territory of *Alexandria*. He alledged in his Juſtification, that it was neceſſary to have the Command of that Fort, to ſecure the *French*, who were poſted in the *Riviera*, from being harraſſed in their Quarters by Detachments from the *Milaneſe*, which might otherwiſe make their Way through *Alexandria* into the Territories of *Genoa*. To pay, however, ſome Regard to his Majeſty's Orders, he made no further Progreſs in the Dutchy, by which he loſt very fine Opportunities: For all the Country round about was in a Ferment after the taking of *Boſco*; ſome out of Fear, and others from a Deſire of Change; and *Lodovico* had but Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Six Thouſand Foot in thoſe Parts. *Galeazzo da San Severino* declared he could not pretend to preſerve *Alexandria*

Trivulzio takes Boſco

dria with his ſmall Number of Forces; and *Lodovico*, no leſs fearful at this Juncture than he was by Nature in all apparent Dangers, was treating with the Duke of *Ferrara* to uſe his Intereſt with the King of *France*, to reſtore him to his Friendſhip. A. D. 1497.

BUT the Inactivity of *Trivulzio* at *Boſco* and *Novi*, gave Time to *Lodovico* to provide for himſelf; and the *Venetians*, who thought it their Intereſt to aſſiſt the Duke on this Occaſion, had already ſent Fifteen Hundred Soldiers to *Genoa*, and now they ordered a new and large Supply of Light-Horſe to march for *Alexandria*; they alſo commanded their General Count *Pitigliano*, (for the Marquis of *Mantua* had reſigned) to advance with the beſt part of their Forces and protect the *Milaneſe*.

THE *French* Expedition againſt *Genoa*, undertaken with ſo much Warmth, came to nothing, *Battiſtino* had no Intelligence from his Partiſans in that City, where the Number of Troops kept the People

A. D. 1497. quiet, and prevented any Inſurrection: So he marched towards *Novi*, and joined *Trivulzio*, laying the Blame of his Miſcarriage on the *Florentines*, who had not, as was expected, attacked the Eaſtern *Riviera*. They indeed judged it imprudent to intangle themſelves in a War, before the *French* were on their March with a powerful Army, which might give them a ſurer Proſpect of Succeſs.

As for *Vincola*, he joined *Trivulzio* with his Troops, after plundering a few Villages belonging to the Marquis of *Finale*, becauſe he had favoured the *Savoneſe*: And this was all he performed in theſe Quarters.

When the *French* had got all their Forces united, they made ſome Excurſions towards *Caſtellaccio*, a Place near *Boſco*, lately fortified by *Lodovico*'s Order. The Army of the Allies increaſed daily about *Alexandria*, whilſt the *French* begun to find Money and Proviſions very ſcarce; which, together with a Stubbornneſs *Trivulzio* found in his Officers, made him

him reſolve, after leaving Garriſons in *Novi* and *Boſco*, to retire with his Army towards *Aſti*. A. D. 1497.

IT was thought that the Diviſion of the *French* Army, into ſo many different Corps, was the Occaſion of their bad Succeſs; and that they might have done better, if at once they had inveſted *Genoa* with all their Strength: For the Diſſentions of Parties ran there very high, and the Diſaffection to the Duke, on account of the State of *Pietra Santa*, was very great; beſides, part of the *German* Soldiers, both Horſe and Foot, ſent thither by *Lodovico*, after a ſhort Stay, were returned into *Germany*. But as there were ſome of the great Men in *France* that diſliked the *Italian* Expedition, it is not improbable, that thoſe who the Year before obſtructed the Proviſions for *Naples*, did now act in the ſame Manner with Regard to *Genoa*. And indeed it was reported, that the Duke of *Bourbon*, and others, even the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, took large Bribes from *Lodovico*, who for this Purpoſe raiſed new and heavy Taxes

on

A. D. 1497. on his Subjects. But be this as it will, it is certain that the Duke of *Orleans* was ordered and preſſed by the King to go to *Aſti*. And tho' he had put himſelf in Readineſs, he did not proceed; either becauſe he doubted of the Continuation of the Preparations that were making; or, as ſome ſaid, from his Unwillingneſs to leave the Kingdom, on account of the King's frequent Indiſpoſitions, as he was the Heir-apparent to the Crown.

When the King ſaw there was no farther Hopes of getting *Genoa* and *Savona*, he reſumed his Negotiations with *Spain*. The only Obſtacle that had retarded the Concluſion of a Truce was, that *Charles* would not conſent, that the Affairs of *Italy* ſhould be mentioned in the Articles; and the King of *Spain* thought his Honour was concerned in giving up that Point: But declared, at the ſame Time, that a general Truce was only made in order for a Peace; in the Concluſion of which, his Alliance with the *Italians* would of courſe be at an End. After ſeveral Expreſſes had been ſent on both Sides, the *Spaniards* with

with their Quirks, according to Cuſtom, over-reached the *French*; a Truce was ſigned for themſelves, their Subjects and Dependants; and for any others that the King of *Spain*, or the King of *France* ſhould name. This Truce was to begin the 5th of *March* for themſelves, but not till Fifty Days after for thoſe that ſhould be named; and ſhould continue in Force for all the Month, of *October* enſuing. Each gave in the Names of thoſe *Italian* Potentates that were in Alliance with them; and the King of *Spain*, amongſt the reſt, named *Federigo* and the *Piſans*. It was alſo agreed, that a Congreſs ſhould be held at *Montpelier*, where all the Allies might ſend their Ambaſſadors. The King of *Spain* gave Hopes, that in this Congreſs he would find out ſome Pretext that might give him a plauſible Reaſon for uniting his Forces with thoſe of *Charles* againſt the *Italians*, and alſo concerted how they might divide the Kingdom of *Naples* between themſelves.

A. D. 1497.

A Truce with *Spain*

THIS Truce was made between the two Kings without conſulting the Allies in

A. D. 1497. in *Italy*; it was, however, agreeable to the *Italians*, particularly to the Duke of *Milan*, who was overjoyed to have the War removed from his Dominions.

As the Ceſſation of Arms was not to take Place in *Italy* before the 25th of *April*, *Trivulzio* and *Battiſtino*, in Conjunction with *Serenon*, returned into the Weſtern *Riviera* with Five Thouſand Men, and attacked *Albenga*, which they entered at the firſt Onſet; but after the *French* had got into the Town, by breaking their Ranks, and roaming diſorderly about the Streets, they were repulſed and beaten out by a leſſer Number of their Enemies. Their next Enterprize was an Invaſion of the Marquiſate of *Finale*, in Hopes of coming to an Engagement with the *Italian* Army, which was expected to march for the Protection of that State: But they were diſappointed, and nothing more of any Moment was undertaken; for the Officers diſagreed more than ever amongſt themſelves, and as the Time of the Truce approached, no Care was taken to pay the Troops.

The

The Allies took the Advantage of theſe Diſorders; Count *Gajazzo* returned to *Novi*, where he had been lately repulſed, took it, and recovered all the Towns that had been loſt, except a few Villages in the Marquiſate of *Finale*. During all theſe Diſturbances, neither the Duke of *Savoy*, who was courted by all Parties, nor *Conſtantino di Macedonia*, Marquis of *Monferrato*, who had been confirmed in his Eſtates by the King of the *Romans*, would declare for either Side. *A. D.* 1497.

NOTHING of Note had happened this Year between the *Florentines* and *Piſans*, tho' they continued at War, excepting that Four Hundred Light-Horſe and Fifteen Hundred Foot of the *Piſans*, conducted by *Gianpagolo Manfroni*, attempted to re-take the Redoubt they had erected at the Bridge on the Lake, which had been taken from them when *Maximilian* was preſent. Count *Rinuccio* being informed of their Motions, came unexpectedly upon them with a Body of Horſe by the Way of *Livorno*, when, as they imagined he had no other Way to come at them

A. D. 1497. them by *Pontadera*, ſoon diſperſed them, and took a great Number of Priſoners. The Truce was favourable to the *Piſans*, but of no Benefit to the *Florentines*, who came into it with Regret; becauſe their Enemies had now Time to take Breath and recover themſelves, whilſt they were obliged to be at the ſame Charges, being under Apprehenſions of *Piero de Medici*, who was continually plotting; and jealous alſo of the *Venetians*, who continued to keep their Troops in the *Piſan*.

All Parties had now laid, or were laying down their Arms. The Duke of *Milan*, tho' he had full Reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Conduct of the *Venetians* in his late dangerous Situation, and had, on all Occaſions, been very laviſh in his Commendations of their Power and Policy, while he ſtood in Need of their Aſſiſtance, and praiſed the Wiſdom of *Giovanni Galeazzo* the firſt Duke, for making them Executors to his laſt Will and Teſtament *; yet now being under no

* He was ſo well ſatisfied with their Behaviour, that when the *Venetian* Proveditors came to *Milan*, he ordered it

no Apprehenſions, he could not bear the Thoughts that *Piſa*, which, with unwearied Induſtry and ſubtle Artifice, he had attempted to ſecure to himſelf, ſhould fall under the *Venetian* Power and Government, as was very likely now to be the Caſe. Under this Anxiety he ſtudied to bring about by Policy, what he had not been able to accompliſh by Force of Arms. For this Purpoſe he applied himſelf to the Pope, and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, whom he knew to be jealous of the *Venetian* Power, and repreſented to them how neceſſary it was, for the Peace of *Italy*, to extinguiſh all the Hopes the *French* might entertain of the Aſſiſtance of the *Florentines*, which was no other Way to be compaſſed, than by reſtoring to them *Piſa*: Till that was done they would never ceaſe ſolliciting the King of *France* to come into *Italy*; and whenever he arrived, his Union with that Republic could never fail of producing important Effects, as their rich and populous State lay in the very Heart of *Italy*.

A. D. 1497.

As

it to be proclaimed, that, under great Penalties, the ſame Reſpect ſhould be paid them, as was to his own Perſon. *Bembo*.

A. D. 1497. As ſoon as the *Venetians* were appriſed of theſe Negotiations, they vehemently oppoſed them, as pernicious to the common Cauſe. They repreſented by their Ambaſſador the natural Propenſity of the *Florentines* to the *French*, and that they were not to be truſted, tho' obliged in ſo ample a Manner, unleſs they would put *Livorno* into the Hands of the Allies, for a Security of what was required of them. This he artfully mentioned, being well ſatisfied they would never part with a Place of ſuch Importance. It fell out as had been foreſeen, for the Propoſition was no ſooner made than rejected. Which gave Occaſion to the Ambaſſador to oppoſe the Point in Agitation with ſo much Warmth, that both the Pope and *Lodovico* thought fit to drop it, not thinking it ſafe to diſoblige the *Venetians* at that Juncture. They then took into Conſideration another Method to induce the *Florentines* to quit the *French* Intereſt, which was by aiding and aſſiſting the Family of the *Medici*. This was likely to be attended with Succeſs, on account of

of the ſeveral Factions that reigned in *Florence*. *A. D.* 1497.

When the popular Authority was at firſt inſtituted, proper Care had not been taken to prevent the common People from breeding Diſturbances. The Citizens of the firſt Rank, by this Regulation, were not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from the Plebeians; and theſe again were ever jealous of the Growth of Power in the former. It often happened, that ſome of the moſt ignorant of the People aſſiſted at Conſultations of Importance; and the ſupreme Magiſtracy, that determined Matters of the laſt Moment, was changed every Month, which could not fail of breeding Confuſion in the Government of the Republic *. To this muſt be added the great Authority of *Savonarola*, whoſe Auditors were all linked together in a

A Plot againſt the *Florentines*.

L Party,

* We read in ſome *Greek* Commentaries, that two powerful Ladies were perpetually diſturbing the public Tranquility with their Contentions for Superiority; that their Names were *Democratia* and *Ariſtocratia*; for the firſt was meant a Popular, by the ſecond a Government of Optimates, or Nobles; no Wonder then that the *Florentines* ſhould be ever at Variance, as they had introduced both theſe Forms into their Republic

A. D. 1497. Party, and amongſt them were ſeveral eminent Citizens. As his Followers were more numerous than his Oppoſers, a great Number of them were choſen for Magiſtrates, and put in Places of the greateſt Truſt. This Diviſion occaſioned many Reſolutions that were prejudicial to the State: For, as it commonly happens in Governments where Parties run high, the public Good was not ſo much regarded, as the Depreſſion of the adverſe Party. Theſe Diſorders were the more dangerous at this Juncture on account of the great Scarcity of Corn; which, with the Agitations of Mind produced by War, and the great Expences that attended it, contributed to render the half-ſtarved Populace deſirous of a Change. *Piero de Medici*, animated by theſe Opportunities, and encouraged by his Party, thought it a very hopeful Proſpect of his Reſtoration; he was beſides inſtigated privately by the *Venetians*, who had Reaſon to think theſe Commotions favourable to their Deſign of keeping *Piſa*. With theſe Hopes he held a Conſultation with his old Friend Cardinal *San Severino*,

Severino, and *Alviano*, in which it was resolved, that *Piero* ſhould make an Attempt to get ſecretly into *Florence*, where for his Encouragement, it was known that *Bernardo del Nero*, a Man of ſolid Parts, great Authority, and a Friend to his Family, had been created Gonfaloniere, and that there were ſeveral alſo in the higheſt Poſts, who, he had Reaſon to think, were in the Intereſt of his Family. A. D. 1497.

THE Pope readily came into the Scheme, and pleaſed himſelf with the View of forcing the *Florentines* from the *French* Alliance by rough Treatment, ſince he had not been able to prevail on them by Acts of Beneficence. *Lodovico* ſeemed indifferent, as he could have no Reliance on a Republic ſo divided; tho' he did not well reliſh *Piero*'s Return, for fear he would remember the Affronts he had given him, and be directed by the *Venetians*.

PIERO, with what Money he had of his own, or could borrow of his Friends, and aſſiſted alſo, as was reported, with a

A. D. 1497. good Sum by the *Venetians*, ſet out towards *Siena*, and was ſoon followed by *Alviano*, with ſome Horſe and Foot, who moved only by Night, and through bye Roads, that his March might be a Secret to the *Florentines*. At *Siena*, by Means of *Gian Giacomo* and *Pandolfo Petrucci*, Men of Intereſt, and Friends of the *Medici*, *Piero* was privately ſupplied with ſome Men; and two Days after the Truce had taken Place, in which the *Seneſe* were not named, he marched out of *Siena* with Six Hundred Horſe and Four Hundred Foot, in Hopes of reaching *Florence* by Day-break undiſcovered; where he expected to find all Things in a Hurry and Confuſion on this Occaſion. His Expectations were, perhaps, not ill-founded, had not Fortune ſupplied the Negligence of his Adverſaries: For being come in the Duſk of the Evening to *Tavernelle*, a little Village on the High-Road, with an Intent to march the beſt part of the Night, a ſudden Storm aroſe, which came with ſuch Violence, that he was not able to reach *Florence* till late in the Morning; this gave his Enemies

Enemies Time to take up Arms, whilſt the greateſt part of the Citizens, and thoſe of the Populace who wiſhed him well, remained unactive, waiting the Event. An Order was immediately iſſued out, that the moſt powerful of the ſuſpected Friends of *Piero* ſhould be ſecured in the Town-Houſe; and that the Troops ſhould be got together, and ſent to the Gate that leads to *Siena*; and *Pagolo Vitelli*, who was caſually come the Night before from *Mantua*, was deſired to command them. *Piero* finding there was no Revolt, or Tumult in his Favour, and fearing that the Army would be ordered thither from *Piſa*, as indeed it was, after waiting Four Hours within Bow-ſhot of the Town, and not being able to force the Gate, he returned to *Siena*; where *Alviano* left *Piero*, and in his Return being let into the City of *Todi* by the *Guelf* Party, he plundered all the Houſes of the *Gibellins*, and put to the Sword Fifty-three of the Heads of that Faction. On the other Hand, his Example was followed by *Antonello Savello* in *Terni*, and by *Gateſchi* in *Viterbo*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *A. D.* 1497.

A. D. 1497. *Colonnas*, who there, and in the Neighbourhood, in Revenge maſſacred the *Guelfs*. The Pope took no Notice of theſe Barbarities, committed in his Dominions; abhorring to meddle in any thing that created him an Expence; beſides, he was void of all Feeling for other People's Calamities; nor was he ever concerned at what might reflect on his Honour, if it did not interfere with his Intereſt or Pleaſures. But he was ſeverely puniſhed with domeſtic Misfortunes, and beheld in his Family ſuch tragical Examples of Luſt and Cruelty, as are not to be parallelled in the moſt ſavage Regions.

FROM the very Beginning of his Pontificate, all his Thoughts were bent on aggrandizing the Duke of *Candia*, his eldeſt Son. The Cardinal of *Valenza*, whoſe Inclinations no way tended to the Church, was deſirous of making a Figure in the military Way; and could not brook that the great Preferments in the Army ſhould be given to his Brother. He was, beſides, extremely jealous to find the Duke

Duke ſhould be better received by a young Lady they were both in Love with. Incited the by Luſt and Ambition, the moſt proper Inſtruments when employed in the Execution of any horrid Action, he ordered him to be aſſaſſinated one Evening as he was riding alone about *Rome*, and then to be thrown ſecretly into the *Tiber* *. The Pope was over-whelmed with Grief at the News; for he was paſſionately fond of his Children, and not accuſtomed to feel the Strokes of adverſe Fortune, it being well known, that from his Cradle to this Time, he had been proſperous in all his Undertakings. In a Conſiſtory held for this Purpoſe, with great Show of Compunction, and with Tears, he lamentably deplored his Miſery, and openly condemned his own Actions and manner of Life to that Time; proteſting for the future he would take another Courſe, and appointed ſome Cardinals to aſſiſt him

A. D. 1497.

* *Giovio* in the Life of *Gonſalvo Ferrando* writes, that *Cæſar Borgia*, after he had ſupped one Night with his Brother, procured an Aſſaſſin to cut his Throat, and then had him thrown into the *Tiber* at the Pillar by *Campo Martio*, from whence he was taken out two Days after by ſome Fiſhermen.

A. D. 1497. in the Reformation of his Court. After he had applied himſelf for ſome Days to the Execution of this laudable Purpoſe, the Author of the horrid Murder came to Light; which cleared Cardinal *Aſcanio* and the *Orſini*, who had been ſuſpected. *Alexander* being freed from theſe Suſpicions and Fears, immediately wiped off his Tears, quitted his good Reſolutions, and returned to the licentious Life to which he had been ſo long accuſtomed.

Piero's Plot diſcovered

AFTER *Piero de Medici*'s Departure from *Florence* there aroſe new Troubles; for his Correſpondence was diſcovered, and many noble Citizens were taken up and ſent to Priſon, whilſt others got out of the Way. The whole Plot was laid open, and the Guilty were tried; *Nicolò Ridolfi*, *Gianozzo Pucci*, and *Giovanni Cambi* were condemned to die, for inviting *Piero* to come to *Florence*, and *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* for furniſhing him with Money. *Bernardo del Nero* was thought to have the hardeſt Meaſure, who received Sentence of Death, only for being acquainted with the Plot, and not giving a proper Information.

Information. But this Crime, according to the *Florentine* Statutes, is capital; and by the beſt Interpreters is judged to be ſo by the common Law. Beſides, it was unpardonable in *Bernardo*; for as he was Gonfaloniere, he ought to have ſacrificed his private Friendſhip to the public Good. *Nero*'s Relations appealed from this Sentence to the Grand Council of the People, in Virtue of a Law made for that Purpoſe, when the popular Government was new modelled; but the Promoters of his Condemnation aſſembled together, and, leſt the tender-hearted Multitude, out of Regard to his Age, Nobility, and Number of Relations, ſhould be prevailed on to mitigate the Rigor of his Sentence, they obtained, that the Cauſe of this Appeal ſhould be delegated to a ſmall Number, who ſhould determine whether *Nero*'s Caſe came within the Act of Appeals. The Majority of this Committee were of Opinion, that the allowing of an Appeal would be making a Precedent by Authority for the Encouragement of Tumults; that they were authoriſed by the Statutes themſelves, to diſpenſe with Laws when

A. D. 1497.

A. D. 1497. when they might create Seditions; ſeveral Members of the ſupreme Magiſtracy being threatened, were almoſt forced to ſet aſide the Appeal, and, with the reſt, ſign a Warrant for his Execution that very Night. *Savonarola* was greatly cenſured at this Juncture, for not diſſuading his Partiſans from the Violation of a Law, that he himſelf with ſo much Warmth had eſpouſed not long ſince, when he aſſerted it to be a ſalutary one, and almoſt neceſſary for the Preſervation of Liberty.

Federigo is inveſted and crowned.

ABOUT this Time *Federigo* King of *Naples* received the Inveſtiture from the Pope, and was crowned with great Solemnity. He afterwards took *Mont St. Angelo* by Compoſition; which had been bravely defended by Don *Giuliano dell' Oreno*. He alſo took *Civita* and other Towns from *Carlo di Sanguine*; and as ſoon as the Truce was expired, he expelled the Prefect of *Rome* out of the Kingdom; and then marched after the Prince of *Salerno*, who being beſieged in the Caſtle of *Diano*, and having no Hopes of Aſſiſtance, ſubmitted, and was per-

permitted to retire ſafe with his Effects; but he put into the Hands of the Prince of *Biſignano* all the Territories which remained in his Poſſeſſion, on Condition that he ſhould not deliver them up to *Federigo*, till he was informed of his ſafe Arrival at *Senigaglia*. A. D. 1497.

ABOUT the End of this Year, the Congreſs of *Montpelier*, which, on account of the immoderate Demands of the King of *Spain*, had been interrupted, was transferred to *Narbonne*, where it was opened again; but the ſame Difficulties were ſtarted anew. For the King of *France* was determined not to agree to any Treaty in which *Italy* ſhould be comprehended, and the King of *Spain* could not yield to give him free Leiſure and Opportunity to ſubdue that Country. He was, however, unwilling to enter into a War with *France*, on the other Side of the *Alps*, as it would cauſe him a great deal of Trouble without any Advantage. At laſt a Truce was agreed on, which was to continue in Force for Two Months after either of the Parties ſhould give the other

A. D. 1497. other Warning. None of the *Italian* Powers were comprehended in this Truce; and when the Sovereigns of *Spain* notified it to the Allies, they pretended to have followed the Example of *Lodovico*, who had made the Peace of *Vercelli* without conſulting them. They complained, that after they had declared War againſt *France* at the Sollicitations of the Allies, and carried it on for Six Months, the ſtipulated Subſidies were never paid. That tho' the ſaid Allies deſerved on that account to have been abandoned, without any formal Ceremony, yet it had been notified to them, that if they would lay down the Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Ducats that were then due, the old Debt ſhould be remitted, and this Money put to the Account of future Subſidies: On this Condition their Majeſties promiſed to enter *France* with a powerful Army; but the Confederates, without any Regard to their Honour, or to the Advantage of the common Cauſe, had refuſed to comply with ſo juſt a Demand. Beſides, their Majeſties were convinced, that this League did not anſwer the Ends propoſed: For inſtead

inſtead of preſerving the Liberties of the *Italians*, it tended to their Deſtruction: For the *Venetians*, not content with the Poſſeſſion of ſeveral Ports in the Kingdom of *Naples*, had, without any Provocation, made themſelves Maſters of *Piſa*; and therefore, ſince every thing was in Confuſion by their own Conduct, their Majeſties thought it was high Time to provide for themſelves by this Truce, whereby they were rather admoniſhed than deſerted: For the Example ſet by their Majeſties might be followed by any of the Allies, who might depart from the Confederacy whenever they found that the general Good was not intended. A. D. 1497.

THE *Spaniſh* Monarchs did not long enjoy thoſe Sweets of Tranquillity which they might have propoſed to themſelves by the Truce: Prince *Giovanni*, their only Son, died at this Juncture *; as did *Filippo* Duke of *Savoy*, leaving an only Son, a young Child. *Filippo* had been a long Time in Suſpenſe as to what Part he

* The Prince of *Spain* was married to *Margarita*, *Maximilian Cæſar*'s Daughter.

A. D. 1497. he ſhould take in theſe Troubles, but ſeemed of late to incline to the Allies, who had promiſed to allow him a yearly Subſidy of Twenty Thouſand Ducats; notwithſtanding which they doubted of his Fidelity, and feared he would join the *French* whenever they paſſed the *Alps*.

TOWARDS the End of this Year the Duke of *Ferrara* reſtored the Caſtelletto of *Genoa*, which had been depoſited in his Hands, to *Lodovico* his Son-in-Law. He firſt applied to the King of *France*, to demand, that according to the Articles of *Vercelli*, he might be reimburſed of one Half of the Charges he had been at in keeping the Garriſon. *Charles* did not refuſe Payment, provided the Duke would depoſit the Caſtelletto in his Hands; which, he ſaid, he ought to do, becauſe *Lodovico* had violated the Treaty. The Duke replying, that this did not appear, the King offered to depoſit the Money till it was proved, and determined, who had a Right to it. But *Ercole* was more influenced by the *Venetians*,

tians, and attached to his Son-in-Law, who to gain him, beſides employing all other Arts of Policy, had nominated Cardinal *Ippolito*, the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Son, Archbiſhop of *Milan* *. Moreover, he did not care to incur the Anger of his powerful Neighbours, at a Time when the Dread of a *French* Invaſion leſſened every Day. He therefore recalled his Son Don *Ferrando* from the *French* Court, and then reſtored the Caſtelletto to *Lodovico*, who, at the ſame time, paid him all his Diſburſments, including that Share which was to have been paid by the King. The *Venetians*, willing to make the Duke a Return for ſo ſignal a Service, took *Ferrando* into their Pay, and gave him the Command of One Hundred Men at Arms. Altho' the giving up of the Caſtelletto in this Manner, was a Diſhonour to *Charles*, and prejudicial to his Intereſt in *Italy*, yet he ſhewed no proper Reſentment: On the contrary, when *Ercole* ſent an Ambaſſador to make Excuſes, alledging that his Dominions

A. D. 1497.

* *Ercole* the ſecond Duke of *Ferrara* had Four Sons, *Alfonſo* his Succeſſor, *Ferrando* who went into the *Venetian* Service, *Ippolito* the Cardinal, and *Girmondo* a Baſtard.

A. D. 1497. minions lay ſo contiguous to the *Venetians* and to the Duke of *Milan*, that he could not refuſe their Demand, which had been accompanied with Threats reſembling a Declaration of War, the King received and heard him as coolly as if he had been talking of ſome indifferent Affair. *Charles*, indeed, in every Action of his Life, ſeemed as if he acted by Chance, which was the Cauſe of his meeting continually with Anxieties and Difficulties. His Deſire of returning into *Italy* was as ardent as ever; and he never had a finer Opportunity. He had no War with *Spain*, the *Swiſs* had lately confirmed their Alliance with *France*; and there were many Cauſes for Miſunderſtandings amongſt the Allies in *Italy*: But the Artifices of the Courtiers rendered uſeleſs all theſe Advantages. Some amuſed the King with Pleaſures, others encouraged him indeed to this Undertaking; but required ſuch powerful Preparations by Sea and Land, and ſuch Sums of Money, as made it impracticable for the preſent; others, particularly the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, laid hold on every Diffi-

Difficulty to diſſuade him from it, and poſtponed the Preparations. Under ſuch Management the *Italian* Expedition not only became more doubtful as to the Time it ſhould be undertaken, but many Parts of the Scheme that was laid for conducting it with Succeſs, ſome perfected and ripe for Execution, others in great Forwardneſs, were either deferred or totally laid aſide. The *Florentines*, for Inſtance, who earneſtly ſollicited his Majeſty's Return, were ready to put their Troops in Motion, as ſoon as he ſhould be in a Condition to protect them; and for that End had agreed with *Aubigni*, that he ſhould come by Sea into *Tuſcany* with One Hundred and Fifty Lances, Fifty of which were to be maintained at the Expence of the Republic; and that *Aubigni* ſhould be General of their Army. The Marquis of *Mantua*, who had been diſhonourably * diſcharged from his Com- A. D. 1497.

* *Franceſco* Marquis of *Mantua* was ſuſpected to be treating with the King; the *Venetians* ordered him to come to *Venice*, but he excuſed himſelf, pretending to be indiſpoſed; for which he was diſmiſſed their Service. *Franceſco* went then to *Venice*, to clear himſelf; ſaying, that the Accuſation was falſe, and that it was a Calumny of *Lodovico*: But his Plea was not admitted; and he was ordered to quit *Venice*.

A. D. 1497. mand in the *Venetian* Troops, after his glorious Campaign of *Naples*, on a groundleſs Suſpicion of his Deſign of entering into the *French* Service, was now treating in Earneſt to enter into that of *Florence*. As for the Duke of *Savoy*, he was naturally inclined to the *French*. At *Bologna*, *Bentivoglio* promiſed on their Arrival to be at the King's Devotion; and the Pope himſelf, after much Heſitation and Demurring, had determined not to oppoſe him. But this unſeaſonable Delay put a Damp on the Spirits of all who intended to ſerve him: No News was heard of any Troops coming to *Aſti*, as had been promiſed; *Aubigni* could not receive his Diſpatches; nor did he ſend Money to pay the *Vitelli* and the *Orſini*, who were his own Officers, and very uſeful in an *Italian* War; for which Reaſon the *Vitelli* were on the Point of enliſting themſelves in the Service of the *Venetians*, but were in Time prevented by the *Florentines*, who engaged them for a Year, obliging themſelves to pay one Half of their Salary, and that *France* ſhould pay the other. This was very pleaſing to the King;

King; but he neither ratified the Agreement, nor made any Proviſion for his Share of the Payments: On the contrary, he ſent *Gemel* to borrow of the Republic One Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Ducats. At laſt he departed ſuddenly from *Lions*, and went to *Tours* and *Ambois*, with his uſual Promiſe of a ſpeedy Return; the News of which ſo diſheartened his Friends in *Italy*, that *Battiſtino Fregoſo* finding he could have no Dependance on *Charles*, reconciled himſelf with the Duke of *Milan*, who now more than ever urged the Pope and King of *Spain* to oblige the *Venetians* to quit *Piſa*, and reſtore it to the *Florentines*. A. D. 1497.

In the Beginning of the Year 1498, the *Florentines* ſent an Ambaſſador to *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope, but with great Secreſy, that they were willing to join in the League againſt *France*, provided *Piſa* was reſtored to them. The Ambaſſador was inſtructed to take great Care, that, if his Negotiation did not ſucceed, it might not be known that this Propoſition came from them, which would give ſo great 1498.

A. D. 1498. Offence to the King of *France*. For ſeveral Days this Affair was agitated in *Rome*: The Pope openly preſſed the Ambaſſadors of *Spain*, *Milan*, and *Naples*, to inſiſt with the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, that as it was neceſſary for the common Safety, by this Means to induce the *Florentines* to unite in the common Cauſe againſt *France*, his Senate ſhould agree to the Propoſal with the reſt of the Allies; that this would eradicate the moſt eſſential Cauſe of Diſſention amongſt the *Italians*, and prevent any one Power from calling in the *Ultramontanes*; and if this Union was not complied with, many ſad Events might happen, which would endanger the whole Nation.

BUT the *Venetian* Senate abſolutely refuſed to give Ear to ſuch a Propoſition; and covering their Ambition under other Reaſons, anſwered by the Mouth of their Ambaſſador, That this Motion was not made for the public Good, but proceeded from the malignant Diſpoſition of one of the Allies towards their Republic. For the *Florentines* were ever attached to the

the *French*, and hoped by their Return to get Poſſeſſion of all *Tuſcany*; that therefore the reinſtating them in *Piſa* would be a very dangerous Step: For the more potent they became, ſo much the more they would have it in their Power to diſturb the Peace of *Italy*. That the Honour of all the Allies was concerned in this Affair, but eſpecially that of their Republic: For all the Confederates had engaged at firſt to protect the *Piſans* in their Liberty; but, in the Sequel, to ſave Expences, had left the whole Burthen on them; who had never grudged either Money or Trouble, but honourably ſtood to their Word; and that if others had no Regard to theirs, that would be no Inducement to the Republic to follow ſuch Examples. That it ſeemed very ſtrange to the Senate, that they ſhould be cenſured for acting according to a Plan formed by the Allies themſelves, and proſecuted for the univerſal Good; and that with ſo much Ingratitude they ſhould now be diſtruſted, after rendering ſuch ſignal Services. That the immenſe Charges they had been at in this and other Undertakings, their Anxiety,

A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. and the Perils they had undergone for the common Safety, did not deſerve ſuch Returns; that without Exaggeration they might aſſert, that *Italy* had been by them alone preſerved: For at the *Taro* it was their Arms that won the Battle, and theirs that recovered the Kingdom of *Naples*. What Army had obliged *Novara* to ſurrender? Who conſtrained the *French* to repaſs the *Alps?* Whoſe Forces had oppoſed them in *Piedmont*, when they attempted to return? Nor can any one aſſert, that in all theſe Performances they have had any other View, than the Safety of *Italy:* For the *Venetians*, by their Situation, were not expoſed to Danger; nor could it be expected that they ſhould expoſe themſelves to rectify the ill Conduct of others. They did not invite the King of *France* into *Italy*, nor accompany him with their Forces after he was arrived; nor had they, for want of furniſhing their Proportion of Supplies, endangered the Whole: But, on the contrary, the *Venetian* Senate interpoſed, when, thro' the bad Conduct of others, the Liberties of *Italy* were on the Brink of

of Deſtruction. If ſuch great Exploits were not acknowledged, or were ſo ſoon forgot, yet they would not, out of Reſentment, following the bad Example of others, forfeit their Faith, or act below the Dignity of their Republic, which was concerned in the Preſervation of *Piſa*; with which alſo was connected the Security of all *Italy*. *A. D.* 1498.

WHILST this Affair was debating at *Rome*, a new Accident happened, that produced unforeſeen Effects. King *Charles* died at *Ambois* of an Apoplexy on the 7th of *April*, whilſt he was at the Tennis-Court: The Fit was ſo violent, that after a few Hours, without being removed, he expired. Thus ended, abruptly, a Life, whoſe Motions rather ſpringing from ſome raſh and ſudden Impulſe, than directed by the Rules of true Policy, occaſioned ſo many Revolutions, and gave ſuch Diſturbance to the publick Repoſe; and would, in all Probability, had it laſted longer, have been the Cauſe of many more Calamities in *Europe*. For this Prince ſeemed to have ſet his Heart ſo Death of the King of *France*.

A. D. 1498. much on his darling Scheme of ſubjecting *Italy*, that it was expected he would at length have ſurmounted all Difficulties, by his own Reflections and ſteady Application, aſſiſted by the Enemies of the Cardinal, the grand Oppoſer of this Project. At the Time of his Death, the *Italians* were in a State of Uncertainty; for as his Motions varied, ſo their Fears increaſed and decreaſed in Proportion. It was well known that the Pope, from a fond Deſire of exalting his Children, held private Negotiations with *Charles*; and it was reported, that the Duke of *Milan*, for his own Security, was acting in the ſame Manner *.

CHARLES died without Male Iſſue, whence the Crown reverted to the Duke of *Orleans*, who was the next in Blood: That Prince was at *Blois*, to which Place the Royal Guards and the Courtiers immediately reſorted; and he was acknowledged

* The Conditions on which *Lodovico* would have been reconciled to *Charles*, were the Baniſhment of the Duke of *Orleans* into *Normandy*, and the Delivery of Don *Trivulzio* to him; which would have been effected, if the King had not died. *Corio.*

ledged by the whole Nation, tho' it had been ſuggeſted, that he had forfeited his Right, by taking up Arms in *Britany* againſt the Kingdom. A. D. 1498.

PALM-SUNDAY was the Period of *Savonarola*'s Authority in *Florence*. Multitudes of Complaints againſt him had been carried to *Rome*, where he was accuſed of preaching, in a ſcandalous Manner, againſt the bad Diſcipline and Vices of the Clergy, and Court of *Rome*. He was further charged with unſound Doctrine, and with fomenting Diviſions. For theſe Miſdemeanours he had been ſeveral times ſummoned to *Rome* by the Pope, but had continued refractory to his Orders, alledging divers Excuſes for his Diſobedience; for which he was publickly excommunicated. Under ſo ſevere a Cenſure, he refrained for ſome Months from preaching; and probably would have been abſolved, had he continued in the ſame Subminiſſion: For the Pope himſelf deſpiſed him, and exerciſed his ſpiritual Arms more at the Sollicitations of ſome Friars, who hated *Savonarola*, than from his own In-

A. D. 1498. Inclination. But *Savonarola* finding that by his Silence his Intereſt declined, * and the Ends for which he had preached could not be anſwered; deſpiſing the pontifical Orders, returned again to his Office; aſſerting that the Cenſures pronounced againſt him were null, as contrary to the Divine Will and public Welfare; and at the ſame time inveighed bitterly againſt the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*. This occaſioned frequent Tumults: For his Enemies, who got Ground every Day, ſtirred up the Populace, who, above all Things, abhorred Diſobedience to the Pope; and had him reprimanded by ſome in the Government for his Audaciouſneſs, which tended to alienate the Pope's Affections from the *Florentines*, at a Juncture when he was treating with the Allies for the Reſtitution of *Piſa*. On the other Hand, his Followers alledged in his Defence, that Divine Service was privileged from Diſturbances; that it was dangerous to admit of an Example, which would be a Precedent for Popes to intrude in

* *Giovio* ſays, that *Savonarola* preached that the Pope's Excommunications were not to be regarded.

in the Affairs of their Government. Theſe Contentions laſted ſeveral Days, till *Alexander* in great Wrath thundering out new Briefs, and threatning to interdict the City, the Magiſtrates ordered him to deſiſt from preaching. *Savonarola* obeyed; but the *Dominican* Friars of his Convent went from Church to Church, preaching the ſame Doctrines; which were refuted by the Religious of other Orders. Theſe Diſputes were carried on with great Heat, and excited ſuch Animoſities both in Church and State, that at laſt a *Dominican* and a *Franciſcan* agreed to try by Fire the Merits of their Cauſe, in the Preſence of the whole City; which would convince the World, whether *Savonarola* was a true Prophet or an Impoſtor. For he had ſeveral times advanced that, if it were neceſſary, God would work a Miracle to prove the Truth of his Predictions, and conduct him ſafe through the Flames of a burning Pile. But the Affair was now become too ſerious, and he grew very uneaſy that his Friar ſhould have gone ſo far without conſulting him; and whilſt he was meditating on Expedients to put

A. D. 1498.

off

A. D. 1498. off the Challenge, thoſe among the Citizens who were his Enemies, puſhed it on vehemently, and thought this a good Opportunity of getting rid of ſo malignant an Incendiary. On the Day appointed, the Two Friars, accompanied by all thoſe of their Convents, appeared in the great Square before the Palace; where were aſſembled not only the Inhabitants of *Florence*, but alſo Multitudes that came out of the Country. Every thing was ready, when the *Franciſcans* were informed, that *Savonarola* had ordered his Friar to enter the Fire with the Sacrament in his Hand; at which they took Exception: Alledging, that if the Hoſt was burnt, it would endanger the Authority of the Chriſtian Faith, by affecting the Minds of the weak and ignorant People. But *Savonarola*, who was preſent, inſiſting that the Experiment ſhould be performed in that Manner, the Trial was ſet aſide. *Savonarola*'s Credit ſuffered greatly on this Occaſion; ſo much, that the next Day, on a caſual Tumult, the People took up Arms; and being countenanced by the ſupreme Magiſtracy,

ſtracy, they forced themſelves into the Monaſtery of *St. Marco*, ſeized on *Savonarola*, and two other Friars, and carried them to the public Priſon *. During this Confuſion, the Relations of thoſe Citizens, who the Year before had been beheaded, aſſaſſinated *Franceſco Valori*, a Nobleman of great Authority, for being chief Patron of *Savonarola*, and the principal Cauſe that the Appeal of their Relations to the People on that Occaſion, had not been admitted. A. D. 1498.

SAVONAROLA was afterwards put to the Queſtion, but in a gentle Manner; and his Examination and Confeſſion were by the Magiſtracy formed into a Proceſs, and ordered to be publiſhed. In this Paper he was cleared of ſeveral Calumnies that had been laid to his Charge; ſuch as leading a diſſolute Life, being avaricious, and having kept ſecret Correſpondence with foreign Princes. He confeſſed that thoſe Events he had foretold were not by

* The Name of one of theſe Friars was *Fra Dominico* of *Peſcia*, the other *Fra Sitro* of *Florence*. *Pietro Delphino*.

A. D. 1498. by Divine Revelation, but founded on the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture, which he had profoundly ſtudied: That what he had preached, had not proceeded from any Malignity, nor from any ambitious Views of eccleſiaſtical Preferments, but from Zeal, and in Hopes, that through his Means, a general Council might be aſſembled, in which the corrupt Manners of the Clergy might be reformed, and the Doctrine of the Church reſtored, ſo as to reſemble, as near as poſſible, the primitive Times; in which laudable Attempt, if it had pleaſed God to help his Labours, he ſhould have thought himſelf more happy and glorious, than if he had acquired the Popedom: For the firſt could not have been procured but by good ſound Doctrine and Virtue; ſuch as would have gained him the Reverence and Eſteem of all the World; whereas the other might be obtained, as it often was, by wicked Means, or good Fortune. He confirmed the Contents of this Proceſs in the Preſence of many Regulars, ſome of whom were of his own Order; but in ſuch conciſe Terms, as, if we may believe his Friends,

Friends, might bear a different Interpretation. After this the General of the *Dominicans*, and Biſhop *Romolino*, afterwards Cardinal *Surrente*, who had been ſent from *Rome*, on purpoſe to aſſiſt at this Trial, degraded * *Savonarola*, and the two Friars of his Order, with the Ceremonies uſed by the *Roman* Church on ſuch Occaſions, and delivered them over to the ſecular Power. They were firſt hanged, and then their Bodies were burnt, in the Preſence of as great a Multitude, as had aſſembled before in the ſame Place, in Expectation of aſſiſting at the miraculous Experiment of Fire. *Savonarola* died with great Intrepidity, without uttering a Word concerning his Guilt, or his Innocence; which left the Minds of the People in the ſame Uncertainty as to his Sanctity. Some called him an Impoſtor, whilſt others affirmed, that the Confeſſion publiſhed in his Name, was either falſe, or what he had ſaid had been extorted by the Queſtion; a Frailty which they ſaid was

A. D. 1498.

Savonarola hanged and burnt.

* *Delfino* writes, that when the Biſhop, in degrading him, ſaid he ſeparated him from the Church, *Savonarola*, replied, You mean from the Church militant.

A. D. 1498. was excuſable: Since, the Prince of the Apoſtles, who was neither impriſoned, nor forced by Torments, at the Interrogation of a Servant-Maid, had denied being a Diſciple of that Maſter, whoſe holy Doctrine he had imbibed, and to whoſe Miracles he had been an Eye-Witneſs.

The End of the Third Book.

Franceſco

Franceſco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK IV.

THE CONTENTS.

Lewis XII. *King of* France, *aſſerts his Right to the Dutchy of* Milan, *and with a numerous Army gets Poſſeſſion. It is regained by* Lodovico; *and loſt again. The Affairs of* Piſa *are left to the Arbitration of the Duke of* Ferrara. Cæſar Borgia *gives up the Cardinal's Hat, and takes the Title of Duke* Valentino.

THE Death of *Charles* King of *France* delivered *Italy* from the Fear of a preſent Invaſion: For it was not ſuppoſed that the new King, *A. D.* 1498.

A. D. 1498. *Lewis* XII. would, at the Commencement of his Reign, intangle himſelf in a War on this Side the Mountains. But the reflecting Part of Mankind was apprehenſive, that the Evil was only ripening, and would in Time break out with greater Violence. They conſidered, that the new Monarch was of mature Years, experienced in military Affairs, frugal in his Expences, and without compariſon ſteadier in his Reſolutions, and leſs liable to be impoſed on than his Predeceſſor. He had not only the ſame Claim to the Kingdom of *Naples*, but pretended alſo to the Dutchy of *Milan* in his own Right, which he derived from Madama *Valentina* his Grandmother, who was given in Marriage to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to *Charles* VI. by her Father *Giovanni Galeazzo Viſconti*, when he was only Imperial Vicar, and had not yet obtained the Title of Duke of *Milan*. Her Dowry was the City and Territory of *Aſti*, beſides a vaſt Sum of Money; and in the Marriage Articles it was expreſly ſtipulated, that in Caſe of Failure of Iſſue Male of *Galeazzo*'s Body, *Valentina* and her Iſſue ſhould

Qualifications of *Lewis* XII.

ſhould ſucceed to the Dutchy of *Milan*. This Convention, which was null of itſelf, and of no great Force, was at that Time confirmed, as the *French* write, by the pontifical Authority; the Imperial Throne being vacant, and the Popes claiming it as their Prerogative to adminiſter, whilſt the Empire is without a Head. In *Filippo Maria Viſconti* ended the Male-Line of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, and *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, Son of *Valentina*, laid Claim to the Dutchy of *Milan*; but as the Ambition of Princes makes them ever ready to embrace all Pretences to Empire, tho' never ſo frivolous, ſo the Emperor *Frederick* alledged, that as the Male-Line of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, who received the Inveſtiture from *Vinceſlaus* King of the *Romans*, was extinct, that State reverted of courſe to the Empire. *Alfonſo* King of *Arragon* and *Naples* put in his Claim alſo by Virtue of the Will of *Giovanni Galeazzo* in his Favour; but the Power, Artifices, and good Fortune of *Franceſco Sforza* got the better of all his Competitors; and to accompany his Arms with ſome Colour of Reaſon, he aſſerted, that the Right of Suc-

A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. ceſſion was inveſted in his Wife *Bianca*, who, tho' a natural Daughter, was ſtill the only Child of *Filippo*.

THE above-mentioned *Charles* of *Orleans* was taken captive at the Battle of *Agincourt*, and carried into *England*, where he remained Twenty-five Years a Priſoner, without being able, thro' his Poverty and ill Fortune, to make good his Right, nor could he obtain any Aid from his near Relation *Lewis* XI. For that Prince, at the Beginning of his Reign, received a great deal of Trouble from his Grandees, who under a Pretence of public Good, but, in Reality, to gratify their own private Revenge and Ambition, had taken up Arms againſt him; which effectually convinced him, that his Security and Grandeur depended on lowering the Pride and Ambition of the great Men of his Kingdom. And, upon this Account, *Lewis* of *Orleans*, the Priſoner's Son, could never obtain any Aſſiſtance from him, tho' he was his Son-in-Law. After the Death of *Lewis* XI. the Duke of *Orleans*, not brooking that *Anne* of *Bourbon*,

Bourbon, the King's Siſter, ſhould be preferred to him in the Regency during the Minority of *Charles* VIII. firſt ſtirred up Commotions in *France*, tho' with bad Succeſs, and afterwards retiring into *Britany*, met with ſtill greater Misfortunes. There he joined that Party which declared againſt the Marriage of *Anne* the Heireſs of *Britany* with *Charles*, leſt that Dutchy, after the Death of *Francis* her Father, ſhould be annexed to *France*. But whilſt he was treating to get her for himſelf, he was taken at the Battle of *St. Aubin*, fought between the *French* and *Britons*, and caſt into Priſon, where he continued Two Years, without being able to make good his Pretenſions to the Dutchy of *Milan*; and tho' afterwards releaſed by the King's Clemency, he could procure no Aſſiſtance from him, and never made any other Attempt but that of *Novara*, which proved of no Conſequence. But now that he was in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, he had nothing ſo much at Heart as the Conqueſt of the *Milaneſe*, which he regarded as his own Patrimony. From his Infancy he had nouriſhed this Deſire, *A. D.* 1498.

A D. 1498. which was augmented by the Thoughts of his Sufferings in *Novara*, and by the ill Treatment he had received at *Aſti* from *Lodovico*, againſt whom he meditated Revenge. Purſuant to this Reſolution, a few Days after the Death of *Charles*, by the Advice of his Council, he took upon him the Titles, not only of King of *France*, of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Two Sicilies* in regard to *Naples*, but ſtiled himſelf alſo Duke of *Milan*. As he had then determined to make no Secret of his real Sentiments in regard to the Affairs of *Italy*, he immediately notified in Form to the Pope, *Venetians*, and *Florentines* his Acceſſion to the Crown; acquainting them at the ſame Time with his Deſign of coming into *Italy*, and more particularly of his Reſolution of making himſelf Maſter of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

THIS Undertaking ſeemed to be attended with many Advantages: The Death of *Charles* had altered the Sentiments of ſeveral of the *Italian* Princes. The Pope, incited by an immoderate Thirſt of Dominion, thought he could not

not compaſs his Ends, whilſt *Italy* was in Peace. The *Venetians* imagined that *Charles* could never forget the Injuries they had done him; but now that Fear ceaſing, they were for entering into Terms of Friendſhip with the new King; and this Diſpoſition would, in all Probability, daily increaſe; for they expected that *Lodovico*, ſwayed more by preſent Revenge, than apprehenſive of Dangers, would continually thwart them in the Affair of *Piſa*. Both he and King *Federigo* knew that *Lewis* would prove a more powerful and more implacable Enemy than *Charles*, yet they were ſatisfied that it was impracticable for him, for ſome Time, to march an Army into *Italy*. A. D. 1498.

THE *Florentines* were the only State that ſeemed inclinable to withdraw their Friendſhip from *France*: For they conſidered, that tho' *Lewis* had been in their Intereſt, yet now he was come to the Crown he was under no ſort of Ties to their Republic, either by virtue of any Promiſes made them, or for any Obligations laid on his Predeceſſor, on account

A. D. 1498. of the Capitulations of *Florence* and *Aſti*. Nor did they imagine that *Lewis* would think much of the many Dangers and Expences they had choſe to go through, rather than abandon their Alliance with *France*. Beſides, the Diſcord, that daily increaſed between the *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, freed them from any Apprehenſions they formerly had of the Allies, and made them think it an eaſier Matter to receive the Succours that were at Hand from *Lodovico* in *Lombardy*, than depend on the uncertain Motions of the *French* who were at ſuch a Diſtance. Theſe and the like Reflections made them leſs deſirous of entering into an Alliance with *Lewis*.

Venetians ſend Ambaſſadors to *Lewis*.

In theſe different Diſpoſitions of Mind among the *Italian* Potentates, their Proceedings were no leſs different. The *Venetians* ſent immediate Orders to their Secretary at *Turin* to repair to the *French* Court, and ſoon after, in order to lay a Foundation for a firm Friendſhip, which they expected would be conducive to the Intereſt of their Republic, they ſent Three Ambaſſadors to congratulate the new King

on

on his Acceſſion, and to aſſure him that their Conduct in regard to *Charles* had proceeded from well-grounded Reaſons they had to think, that he not only meditated the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but alſo that of all *Italy*. A. D. 1498.

THE Pope, who was determined that his Son ſhould abdicate the Cardinalſhip, and get himſelf inveſted with ſome ſecular Dignity, full of high Expectations, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lewis* to negotiate a Traffic of heavenly Treaſures for temporal Dominion. He well knew that the King was ſollicitous to be divorced from his barren and deformed Wife, who had almoſt been forced upon him by *Lewis* XI. He was alſo appriſed of his Deſire to marry *Anne* the late King's Widow, not ſo much out of Fondneſs with reſpect to their former Love before the Battle of *St. Aubin*, but becauſe by this Marriage he would ſecure to himſelf the Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Britany*, which lay ſo convenient, and was ſo great an Addition to his Dominions; an Affair of Importance, and not to Pope ſends Ambaſſadors.

A. D. 1496. to be compaſſed without the Intervention of the Pontifical Authority.

Florentines ſend Ambaſſadors.

As for the *Florentines*, their Ambaſſadors were in Readineſs, as is uſual on ſuch Occaſions; and were inſtructed to expatiate on the Merits of the Republic with regard to *France*, and the Services they had done the late King. To this Freedom they were encouraged by *Lodovico*, who imagined that their Credit with the King might diſpoſe him the leſs to favour the *Venetians* when the Affair of *Piſa* came before him. He was not without Hopes alſo that they would employ their Intereſt at the *French* Court in bringing about, what he heartily wiſhed, a Reconciliation between his Majeſty and himſelf.

The Ambaſſadors of all theſe Powers were very courteouſly received by the King, who treated with them ſeparately, but was determined to undertake no *Italian* Expedition, before he was well aſſured that his Kingdom ſhould not be moleſted in his Abſence by the neighbouring Princes, with

with whom he intended to make new Alliances. *A. D.* 1498.

HEAVEN had decreed, that the Flame which *Lodovico* had kindled up in *Piſa*, and was continually feeding, ſhould at laſt ſeize and deſtroy its Author. That Prince, either out of Envy, or fear of impending Danger to himſelf and the other Potentates of *Italy* from the exorbitant Power of the *Venetians*, could not bear to ſee the Fruits of all his laboured Schemes and Arts of Policy become a Prey to ambitious Intruders. In this Diſpoſition, after he had maturely conſidered the Reſolution of the *Florentines*, and their Steadineſs in the Affair of *Piſa*, imagining that by the Death of *Savonarola* and *Valori*, who conſtantly oppoſed his Meaſures, he might now treat with them on more firm and confident Hopes of Succeſs, he took a Reſolution to aſſiſt them with all his Power in the Recovery of *Piſa*, which neither his Negotiations nor Authority, nor the Perſuaſions of others had been able to effect. He vainly imagined that before the *French* could be ready

Lodovico reſolves to aſſiſt the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1498. ready with an Army, *Piſa*, either by Force or Treaty, would be reduced to the Obedience of their old Maſters; and he took for granted, that the *Venetian* Senate, acted by that Prudence, which had not operated on himſelf, would not think *Piſa* of ſuch Conſequence, as, merely out of Revenge, to ſuffer the Liberties of all *Italy* to be endangered by the Return of the *French*, whom, at the Expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure, they had ſo lately expelled.

THIS imprudent Reſolution was haſtened by an Action that happened in the Territory of *Piſa*, to the Diſadvantage of the *Florentines*. They had poſted a good Body of Troops at *Pontadera*, where they received Intelligence that a Party of Seven Hundred Horſe and One Thouſand Foot, that had marched out of *Piſa*, were returning from the Marſhes of *Volterra* with a great Booty. Count *Rinuccio*, and *Gulielmo de Pazzi*, the *Florentine* Commiſſary, drew out all their Force in order to intercept their Return, and charging them in the Vale of *St. Regolo* put them

Florentines worſted at St. Regolo.

them to flight, and recovered the beſt part of the Effects. As ſoon as the *Piſans* had Advice of the Commiſſary's Motions, they ſent out One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, who attacked their Enemies while they were in Diſorder, and intent on Plunder, with ſo much Vigour, that, tho' the Count did all that was poſſible to rally his Men at Arms, the *Florentines*, after a faint Reſiſtance made by ſome of their Foot, were entirely defeated, a great Number of the Infantry killed, many taken Priſoners, among them ſeveral Officers, and the beſt part of the Horſes alſo fell into the Enemy's Hands *. The Count and Commiſſary with no little Hazard ſaved themſelves in *St. Regolo*, laying the Blame on each other, as it commonly happens after a Miſcarriage of this Nature. *A. D.* 1498.

THE *Florentines* were greatly alarmed at the Diſaſter, as they could not ſoon recruit, their General in Chief *Rinuccio* had entirely loſt his Reputation, and his *Florentines* apply to *France* for Aſſiſtance.

* *Bembo* ſays there were Two Hundred killed, One Hundred and Thirty taken, with Seven Standards.

A. D. 1498. his own Regiment had been ſtripped. In the preſent Exigence they ſent Orders to their Troops at *Arezzo* to march for *Piſa*, and put all their Forces under the Command of *Pagolo Vitelli*, who refuſed that Charge till they gave him the Title of Captain-General. They next made their Addreſſes to the King of *France*, humbly beſeeching him to ſend Three Hundred Lances into *Tuſcany*, in Hopes that ſuch a Force, joined to the Authority of the royal Protection, would remove their imminent Danger; requeſting alſo that he would fulfil the Agreement made with the late King for keeping the *Vitelli* in their common Service, by contributing his Proportion of their Pay; and would moreover uſe his Intereſt with the *Venetians* to deſiſt from Hoſtilities. But *Lewis*, who was unwilling to diſoblige or give any Cauſe of Diſtruſt to the *Venetians*, and was reſolved not to meddle in the Affairs of *Italy* till he was in Readineſs to invade the *Milaneſe*, put them off with fair Words, which produced no manner of Effect.

A. D. 1498.

In this Extremity, as their laſt Reſort, they had Recourſe to the Duke of *Milan*. But the Duke wanted no Intreaties, on the contrary he was apprehenſive leſt the *Venetians* ſhould improve this Advantage in ſuch a manner as to render his Aid ineffectual. He thought fit therefore, without Loſs of Time, to ſend a truſty Agent to *Florence*, to inform himſelf not only of what was neceſſary for their Defence, but for the entire Reduction of *Piſa*.

And to the Duke of *Milan*.

As there were no Apprehenſions from *France* this Year, the whole Attention of the *Italians* was employed on the *Piſan* War, all other Parts of *Italy* enjoying Peace. There had, indeed, been ſome Quarrels between the two Houſes of the *Orſini* and *Colonna*, but the Parties concerned, by their own Prudence and Conduct, got the better of their Enmity and Paſſions. The Matter of Fact in ſhort was this: The *Colonnas* and the *Savelli*, to revenge themſelves on *Jacopo Conti*, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Torre Mattia*, attacked the Caſtles belonging to the Family

A. D. 1498. mily of *Conti*, who were then joined by the *Orſini*, as being of the ſame Party. After ſeveral Caſtles taken on both Sides, they came at laſt to a pitched Battle at the Foot of *Monticelli* in the Neighbourhood of *Tivoli*, where, after fighting with great Obſtinacy and Party Rage for Honour, Intereſt, and Revenge, the *Orſini*, who had Two Thouſand Foot and Eight Hundred Horſe, were beaten out of the Field, and loſt all their Colours, and *Carlo Orſino* was taken Priſoner. On the Side of the *Colonnas*, *Antonello Savello*, an Officer of Reputation, was wounded, and died in a few Days. When the Battle was over, the Pope pretending not to like ſuch Diſturbances in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, offered his Mediation, which was accepted by both Parties. But while his Holineſs, in his uſual Manner, was amuſing them, the *Orſini* aſſembled another Army, and beſieged *Palombara*, the capital Town belonging to the *Savelli*, which the *Colonnas*, who had taken ſeveral Forts after the Battle, were preparing to relieve. At laſt both Parties being convinced that the Pope widened the Breaches, and

Cauſe of a War between the Families of *Orſini* and *Colonna*.

Orſini routed at *Monticelli*

and inflamed their Animoſities, with an Intent, after they had weakened one another, to make them both his Prey, came to a Parley, and agreed to have a Meeting at *Tivoli*, where in a few Hours they became Friends, on Condition, that *Carlo Orſino* ſhould be ſet at Liberty, the Places taken on both Sides reſtored, and the Diſpute about the Territory of *Tagliacozzo* and *Albi* referred to King *Federigo*, who had many Perſons of the Family of *Colonna* in his Service. *A. D.* 1498. Peace between the two Families.

WHAT now remained of the War in *Italy* was confined to the City and Territory of *Piſa*. The Duke of *Milan* at firſt intended only to give the *Florentines* a powerful Succour in Money, and that underhand. But his Reſentment againſt the *Venetians* increaſing to ſuch a Height, as to vent itſelf in haughty Language, and threatening Expreſſions, he reſolved to throw off the Maſk at once, and began with denying their Troops a Paſſage thro' the *Parmeſan* and *Pontremoli* in their March to *Piſa*, which obliged them to fetch a Compaſs by a difficult Way thro' *Lodovico* quarrels with the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1498. the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Country. He had Intereſt enough with *Cæſar*, who had diſmiſſed all the Ambaſſadors of the League but thoſe of the King of *Spain*, on his recalling them, to except thoſe of the *Venetians*. He ſent Three Hundred Archers to the *Florentines*, and engaged to pay his Share towards a new Levy of Three Hundred Men at Arms, part of them to be commanded by the Lord of *Piombino*, and the reſt under *Pagol Baglione* He lent them above Three Hundred Thouſand Ducats, and made a ſincere Offer of all his Power to ſerve them. He interceded alſo with the Pope in their Behalf, intreating his Holineſs to lend a favourable Ear to the humble Applications of the *Florentines*. The Pope was convinced that it could not be for the Papal Intereſt that the *Venetians* ſhould become Maſters of *Piſa*, and therefore promiſed an Aſſiſtance of One Hundred Men at Arms, beſides Three light Galleys under Captain *Villamarina*, which were to cruize before *Piſa*, and intercept all Proviſions or Stores carrying thither by Sea. But he found Reaſon to alter his Meaſures,

and,

and, after many Excuſes for his Delay, openly refuſed to ſend this Succour, having greater Things and more intereſting to himſelf in Proſpect, for he was now more than ever intent on entering into a ſtrict Alliance with the King of *France*, from whom he had the Vanity to expect nothing leſs than the Kingdom of *Naples* for his Son. *A. D.* 1498.

IT is the common Frailty of Mankind, when bent on any Project, to amuſe themſelves with flattering Hopes, and to repreſent as eaſy what to a calm and unprejudiced Underſtanding will appear difficult. It was really Matter of Aſtoniſhment that *Alexander* after a Repulſe, which ought in Reaſon to have knocked all his Schemes on the Head, ſhould be ſo little diſconcerted, as to find Occaſion from that very Repulſe to enlarge his Views, and form ſtill greater Projects. Before he took this Reſolution of entering into a League with *France*, he had propoſed to King *Federigo* a Match between his Son, who was diſpoſed to part with his Cardinal's Hat, and the King's Daughter, with

A. D. 1498. the Principality of *Taranto* for her Dowry. He imagined that if his Son, who was endowed with great natural Parts, ſhould once get Poſſeſſion of ſo conſiderable a Member of the Kingdom, being married to a Royal Daughter, he might, with the Arms and the Pretenſions of the Church to that Country, eaſily diſpoſſeſs his Father-in-Law, who was unprovided of Men and Money, and had neither the Love nor Eſteem of many of his Barons. *Lodovico* favoured the Pope's Suit, and ſent *Marcheſino Stampa* to *Rome*, and thence to *Naples*, to ſollicit *Federigo*, firſt with Reaſons, and then, if neceſſary, with Threats, to come into the Motion. That Miniſter was charged to remonſtrate to the King the dangerous Conſequence of his Refuſal, which would be throwing his Holineſs into the Arms of *France*; and endeavour to convince him how weak and imprudent it would appear, when the common Safety lay at Stake, to ſuffer himſelf to be biaſſed by *Valentino*'s Birth, and, rather than put ſome Violence on his own Inclinations, to riſque the Preſervation of his Kingdom. *Federigo* knew how

how to reſiſt all theſe Sollicitations: He knew that a Denial might endanger his Throne, but he was alſo ſenſible that to give his Daughter in Marriage to the Cardinal of *Valenza*, with the Principality of *Taranto*, was no leſs hazardous. Therefore of two Dangers he would chuſe to encounter that which appeared to him the moſt honourable, and which would not proceed from any Act of his own. This mortifying Denial quite determined the Pope to enter into *French* Meaſures, and his Fear of offending the *Venetians*, whom he would willingly induce to make the ſame Step, reſtrained him from giving any Aſſiſtance to the *Florentines*. A. D. 1498.

BUT the *Florentines* now thought themſelves ſtrong enough in the Field, and their Affairs in a promiſing Way, by the Acceſſion of ſo good an Ally as the Duke of *Milan*; and under the Conduct of a General of ſuch military Reputation as *Pagolo Vitelli*. They were grown to ſuch a Height of Reſolution, and Confidence in their Commander, that no Danger appeared formidable, no Enterprize too

A. D. 1498. difficult. The *Piſans*, beſides the numerous Body of their Citizens and Peaſants, who were experienced and reſolute, had Four Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred Stradiotti, and above Two Thouſand Foot Auxiliaries from the *Venetians*, who were unanimouſly diſpoſed to ſend them ſtill more Forces if required; for thoſe very Senators who had before ſo warmly oppoſed taking the *Piſans* under the Protection of the Republic, ſince they found themſelves embarked in the Cauſe, now thought it neceſſary, for the Honour of the Senate, to defend them.

LODOVICO and his new Allies the *Florentines* reſolved to augment their Army with ſuch a Number of Troops, as ſhould be ſufficient not only to diſpoſſeſs the *Piſans* of all the fortified Places in the Neighbourhood of *Piſa*, but to fruſtrate any Attempts from the neighbouring States, at the Sollicitations of the *Venetians*, to aſſiſt the *Piſans*, or attack any Part of the Dominions of *Florence*. With this Intent *Lodovico* induced *Bentivoglio*, who was in Alliance with him and the *Venetians*,

tians, to acknowledge him his ſole Ally; and to lay this new Friend under ſtronger Obligations, the *Florentines* took his Son *Aleſſandro* into their Pay. This was an important Step, for *Aleſſandro* was at the Head of Two Hundred Men at Arms raiſed by *Lodovico* in concert with the *Venetians*, before he had reſolved to declare himſelf. And becauſe the Lord of *Faenza* was under the Protection of the *Venetians*, the *Florentines* hired *Ottaviano Riario*, Lord of *Imola* and *Furli*, with One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, to cover their Territory from any Attack on the Side of *Romagna*. *Ottaviano* followed in every thing the Dictates of his Mother *Caterina Sforza*, who was entirely at *Lodovico*'s Devotion for ſeveral Reaſons, but particularly becauſe ſhe was privately married to *Giovanni de' Medici*, and ſhe was confident that the Duke of *Milan*, diſliking the popular Government in *Florence*, intended to reinſtate *Giovanni* and his Brother in that City. *Lodovico* alſo obtained a Promiſe from the *Luccheſe*, with whom he had great Authority, that they would deſiſt from ſupplying the

A. D. 1498.

Bentivoglio declares for *Lodovico*.

A. D. 1498. *Piſans*, whom they had always favoured; and tho' they did not entirely comply with their Engagement, yet they obſerved it in a great meaſure out of Reſpect to him.

THERE remained ſtill to manage the *Sæneſe* and the *Genoeſe*, both inviterate Enemies of the *Florentines*, who were then actually at Variance with theſe two States; with one of them on account of *Monte Pulciano*, and with the other on the Affair of the *Lunegiana*. It was feared that the *Sæneſe*, from an old Grudge, would, as uſual, tho' to their own Detriment, ſupply the Enemies of the *Florentines* with all the Conveniences their Country would afford: And tho' the *Genoeſe*, out of antient Emulation, muſt be conceived averſe to the Settlement of the *Venetians* at *Piſa*, yet as there was little Regard ever ſhewn in *Genoa* to the public Welfare, both *Venetian* and *Piſan* Veſſels continued to traffic in their Port for the Benefit that accrued to Particulars, and to the great Advantage of the *Piſans*. By *Lodovico*'s Advice the *Florentines* ſent Ambaſſadors

to

to both theſe States; but the Treaty with the *Genoeſe* came to nothing, for that People peremptorily inſiſted on the Delivery of *Sarzana*, on the ſole Conſideration of a Promiſe that the *Piſans* ſhould receive no ſort of Supplies from the Dominions of *Genoa*; which Condition the *Florentines* regarding as attended with a certain Loſs for a ſmall and even doubtful Gain, refuſed to buy their Friendſhip at ſo dear a Rate. *A. D.* 1498.

WHILE theſe Things were in Agitation, the *Florentines*, under their new Captain-General, took the Field, with an Army ſtronger in Horſe than Foot; which obliged the *Piſans*, who, ſince the Fight at *St. Regolo*, had ſcowered the Country with their Stradiotti without controul, to break up their Camp at *Ponte di Sacco*. *Vitelli* firſt took *Calcinaia*, and while he was expecting ſome Recruits of Infantry, receiving Intelligence that the *Venetians* poſted at *Caſcina*, under *Marco Martinengo* kept no Guard nor Diſcipline, he ſuddenly fell upon them, killed many of the Stradiotti, with *Giovanni Gradinico*, Captain of Men at Arms, and took *Franco* Chief *Florentines* take the Field. Surpriſes the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1498. Chief of the Stradiotti, with One Hundred Horſe Priſoners. On this the *Venetians* abandoned *Caſcina*, and retired to *Borgo di St. Marco*, where they waited for Reinforcements from *Venice*. *Pagolo Vitelli*, being now joined by his Foot, made a Feint of attacking *Caſcina*; but while the *Piſans* were preparing for its Defence, he detached Three Thouſand Men with Orders to poſt themſelves on the upper Grounds, and then, with great Labour and Difficulty paſſing his heavy Cannon over the Mountains, croſſed the *Arno*, and inveſted *Buti*, which was taken by Storm the next Day after it began to be battered. The General choſe rather to attack *Buti* than *Piſa*; for conſidering with himſelf the deſperate Obſtinacy of the *Piſans*, their Numbers, the Multitude of Peaſants in the Town, who by long Exerciſe were become expert Soldiers, together with the *Venetian* Garriſon, and the Strength of the Walls and Fortifications, he laid aſide all Thoughts of reducing *Piſa* by Force. He judged it therefore more expedient to ſtreighten the Place, by taking in thoſe Forts that lie on the Right

Right of the *Arno*, and to intercept all Communication with the neighbouring States. For this End, after taking *Buti*, he erected a Fort on the Hill of *San Giovanni della Vena*, and with the ſame Labour as before brought his Cannon before a Fort which the *Piſans* had erected near *Vico*, poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Territory of *Valdecalci*, raiſed another Fortification at *Pietra Doloroſa* above *Vico Piſano*, to prevent all Paſſage of Proviſions by that Road, and inveſted the Fortreſs of the *Verrucola*. Count *Rinuccio* had poſted himſelf in *Valdinievole*, to be a Check upon the *Piſans*, and fruſtrate all Sallies which it was expected they would hazard for preventing the Sieges of *Librafatta* and *Valdiſerchio*; yet this did not prevent a Sally of Four Hundred Men, who ſurpriſed and cut to Pieces ſome *Florentine* Foot in the Church of *St. Michele*, deſigned to aſſiſt at the Siege of *Verrucola*. *Pagolo* in the mean time made himſelf Maſter of the Fort near *Vico*, allowing the Garriſon to march out with their Cannon for *Vico Piſano*, and then encamped before *Vico*, where he opened the

A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. the Trenches, not on the ſame Side it had been beſieged by the *Florentines*, when himſelf defended it, but that towards *San Giovanni della Vena*, by which Means he prevented all Succours from *Piſa*. A large Breach being made, the Governor ſurrendered on Condition that the Garriſon ſhould march away, and the Inhabitants ſhould be ſafe in their Perſons and Effects. They did not care to hold out to Extremity, becauſe *Vitelli*, when he took *Buti*, ordered Three *German* Gunners to have their Hands chopped off, beſides other Cruelties, to ſtrike a Terror. *Vico* being taken by *Pagolo*, his good Fortune favoured him on another Occaſion: For the *Piſans* imagining it would be eaſy to ſurpriſe the Fort of *Pietra Doloroſa*, made a furious Attack upon the Place before Break of Day, with Two Hundred Light Horſe, and ſome choſen Infantry; but meeting with longer Reſiſtance than was expected, it happened that in the Heat of Action *Pagolo* was perceived haſtening over the Hills to the Relief of the Place. The Aſſailants then had nothing to do but to make the beſt of their Way to *Piſa*, in which

which near *Calci* they fell in with *Vitellozzo* who waited to intercept them, and *Pagolo* coming up, they were totally routed, and many of the Horſe, and moſt part of the Foot killed. *A. D.* 1498.

In the mean time the *Florentines* received Information from the Duke and others, that the *Venetians* were inclined to make Peace, and that all Differences might be eaſily accommodated, provided the Republic of *Florence* would conſent, as was decent and proper, to treat with the *Venetians* as with a ſuperior Republic, and not as with their Equals. On this Advice *Guido Antonio Veſpucci* and *Bernardo Rucellai*, Two Citizens of great Authority, were ſent to *Venice* to inform themſelves of the Senate's real Intentions. This Application would have been made much ſooner, had not the *Florentines* ſtood in fear of diſobliging King *Charles*, and were alſo conſcious to themſelves that while they were viſibly too weak to ſubdue *Piſa*, all Intreaties not enforced by the Authority of ſome ſignal Action are vain and fruitleſs. But now having a

Agreement propoſed between the *Venetians* and *Florentines*.

Florentines ſend Ambaſſadors to *Venice*.

A. D. 1498. powerful Force in the Field, and the Duke of *Milan* having openly declared againſt the *Venetians*, they began to entertain Hopes of finding out ſome Expedient for an honourable Agreement.

Their Reception and Treaty. THE Ambaſſadors were received very honourably, and introduced to the Doge and College; where, after making Excuſes in the Name of their Republic for ſending no ſooner, "which, they ſaid, was owing to the Iniquity of the Times, and the Circumſtances of their City, they, in plain Terms, deſired them to deſiſt from the Defence of *Piſa*, which they had Reaſon to expect, ſince the *Florentine* Republic had given no juſt Cauſe of Offence, and the *Venetian* Senate was famous for doing Juſtice, which was the Baſis of all Virtues, and ought to be preferred to any other Conſideration in Government." The Doge anſwered, "that it was true the *Florentines* had not injured them, and that the *Venetians* had not undertaken the Defence of *Piſa*, with an Intent to offend the *Florentines*, but merely becauſe they had joined with the *French*,

French, and differed in their Politics from all the reſt of the *Italian* Potentates. The common Safety, therefore, had engaged the Allies to promiſe the *Piſans* their Aſſiſtance. That if others were regardleſs of their Word, they would not, againſt the known Rule of their Republic, follow ſo vile an Example. But if they had any thing to offer by which the Freedom of the *Piſans* might be preſerved, they were ready to convince the World, that no private Intereſt or Ambition could induce them to perſevere in their Hoſtilities againſt the *Florentines*." After this it was for ſeveral Days debated, in what Manner both Parties might be ſatisfied; but neither the Ambaſſadors nor the Senate were willing to make their Propoſals. It was agreed that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who wiſhed well to both, ſhould be admitted into their Councils. He was of Opinion that the *Piſans* might return under the *Florentine* Dominion, not as Subjects, but as Confederates, or rather under their Protection, and enjoy the ſame Charter and Privileges as had been allowed to the City of *Piſtoia*; which would be a ſort of

A. D. 1498.

Medium

A. D. 1498. Medium between Slavery and Liberty. The *Venetians* objected that no Traces of Liberty could remain in a City, where the Fortifications and Adminiſtration of Juſtice were in the Hands of another Power. Thus the Ambaſſadors finding no Hopes of ſucceeding quitted *Venice*, fully perſuaded that the *Venetians* would never abandon *Piſa*, whither they were continually ſending Recruits, without being conſtrained to it.

Ambaſſy unſucceſsful.

THE Senate had not much to fear this Year from the *Florentines*, who had not taken the Field early in the Spring, and the Seaſon being far advanced, could not keep the Field much longer on account of the Floods, to which the Country about *Piſa* is, by its low Situation, very ſubject. They ordered a new Levy of Five Hundred Men at Arms, to be commanded by the Duke of *Urbino*, to whom they gave the Title of Governor, and who, purſuant to ſome Intelligence, was to make a Diverſion by attacking the *Florentines* on a different Quarter. They purpoſed alſo to ſerve themſelves of *Piero de'*

de' Medici, on whoſe account they levied Two Hundred Men at Arms under *Carlo Orſino* and *Bartolomeo Alviano*. Nor were they without Hopes of inducing *Bentivoglio* to invade the Country on the Side of the *Bologneſe*. For the Duke of *Milan*, it ſeems, was diſſatisfied with him becauſe his Son *Annibale Bentivoglio* had preferred the *Venetian* Service before the Duke's. And this new Offence revived the Memory of former Injuries, which he pretended he had received from him. For when *Ferdinando* Duke of *Calabria* marched into *Romagna*, *Bentivoglio* took that Opportunity to ſeize on ſome Caſtles of the *Milaneſe*, which, he ſaid, belonged to his Son *Aleſſandro* by Right of Dowry. But by the Mediation of the *Florentines*, the Caſtles were reſtored to *Lodovico*, which fruſtrated the *Venetians* in their Hopes of Aſſiſtance from *Bentivoglio*. They applied next to the *Saneſe*, whom they had Reaſon to think not averſe to their Meaſures; for beſides the natural Diſpoſition of that People to take up Arms againſt the *Florentines*, they happened to be in a great Ferment at that Time on the

A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. following Occaſion. The Duke of *Urbino*, and the *Orſini* with Two Thouſand Foot and Four Hundred Stradiotti, had halted at *La Fratta* in the Territory of *Perugia*, from whence they ſent a Meſſage to the Government of *Siena* to deſire a Paſſage through their Territory. *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who by his ſuperior Poſts and Management had raiſed himſelf to the ſupreme Dignity in that Republic, was for granting a Paſſage; but *Nicolo Borgheſe*, his Father-in-Law, with the Family of the *Belanti* oppoſed it, merely in Contradiction to *Pandolfo*, of whoſe Power they were jealous. They pleaded that to grant a Truce to the *Florentines*, as *Pandolfo* and the Duke of *Milan* would perſuade them, was only giving them an Opportunity of firſt ſubjecting *Piſa*, and then turning with their whole Force againſt *Siena*. On the contrary, the Republic, like a wiſe State, ought to improve the preſent Juncture, and not enter into any Treaty that was not like to produce a ſolid Peace, in which *Monte Pulciano* ſhould be yielded to the *Seneſe*. They were conſcious, that the Government of *Florence*

Florence would never make this Conceſſion, and expected that the *Venetians*, for ſo ſignal a Service, would aſſiſt them in diminiſhing *Pandolfo*'s Authority. As for *Pandolfo*, he found great Difficulty in gaining his Point, for the Populace had a natural Antipathy to the *Florentines*, and it was urged, with a plauſible Air, that they had a fair Opportunity now given them of obliging the *Florentines* under their preſent Diſtreſs to give up *Monte Pulciano*. Theſe Reaſons ſeemed to outweigh thoſe of *Pandolfo*, who, on his Side, repreſented, beſides the common Calamities of War, the Danger of permitting the *Venetians* to have a Footing in *Tuſcany*. He inſiſted on this Point with much Warmth, and told the People that they had no Occaſion to look out for foreign Examples, it being freſh in the Memory of many then preſent, that in the Year 1478, when they joined *Ferdinando* King of *Naples* againſt the *Florentines* they were on the Point of being enſlaved by that Prince, which nothing could have prevented, had not the *Ottoman* Emperor, by taking *Otranto*, obliged A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. the King to recall his Son *Alfonſo* with his Forces from *Siena*. In their own Hiſtory they might alſo find the Time when, out of Reſentment to the *Florentines* on account of this very *Monte Pulciano*, they put the State under the Subjection of Count *Virtu*, to induce him to take up Arms againſt that Republic. Theſe Arguments, how juſt ſoever, were not powerful enough to bring the People into *Pandolfo*'s Sentiments. He found himſelf therefore under a Neceſſity to call to his Aſſiſtance many of his Friends out of the Country, by whoſe Concurrence having ſecured the public Peace and himſelf from Tumults, he made a Five Year's Truce with the *Florentines*, who, in return, paying a greater Regard to their Fear of the preſent Danger than to the Dignity of the State, obliged themſelves to deſtroy part of the Bridge of *Valiano*, together with the Redoubt, which had given ſo much Umbrage to the *Saneſe*, who were permitted to erect what Forts they pleaſed between *Chiane* and *Monte Pulciano*. This Treaty raiſed *Pandolfo*'s Power and Authority to ſuch a Height, as enabled him not

not long after to get his Father-in-Law condemned to die for ardently oppoſing his Meaſures; which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Party, that they quietly ſuffered him to rule the State in as abſolute a Manner as he pleaſed. *A. D.* 1498.

THE *Venetians* being thus diſappointed at *Siena*, and not able to obtain a Paſſage for their Troops through the Territory of *Perugia*, reſolved to attack the *Florentines* by the Way of *Romagna*, where they expected, that, by Means of *Piero de' Medici*'s Intereſt, it would be eaſy to reduce the Towns in the *Apennines*. For this Purpoſe they obtained Leave of the petty Lord of *Faenza* to march a Body of Troops through the Valley of *Lanione*, accompanied by *Piero* and *Giuliano de' Medici*, who took Poſſeſſion of *Marradi*, a Town on the *Appennines* facing *Romagna*, without Oppoſition, for *Dionigi di Naldo*, a Gentleman whoſe Eſtate lay in the Valleys between thoſe Hills, who had Orders to aſſemble the Peaſants, and to raiſe Three Hundred Soldiers, had ſo few Troops with him, that he thought fit to quit the *Campaign in Romagna.*

A. D. 1498. Place and retire. The *Venetians* then laid ſiege to *Caſtiglione*, a Fort ſeated on an Eminence above *Marradi*, and were in Hopes of taking it, for there was a Scarcity of Proviſions and Water in the Place, and the Conqueſt of it would have opened them a Paſſage into *Mugello*, a Territory contiguous to *Florence*. But the Dearneſs of Proviſions was happily compenſated by the Reſolution of the Governor, and the Want of Water by Providence; for there fell ſuch a Quantity of Rain, that in one Night all the Ciſterns and Veſſels were filled.

In the mean time Count *Rinuccio*, and the Lord of *Piombino*, with other Generals, marched through *Mugello* to the Relief of the Fort, and obliged the *Venetians* to retire with Precipitation; for as they had expected but little Reſiſtance in thoſe Parts, they were but ill provided to look the Enemy in the Face. As ſoon as the Duke of *Milan* received Intelligence of this Irruption, he ordered Count *Gajazzo*, who was at *Cotignuola* with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and One Thouſand

Thouſand Foot, and *Fracaſſa*, who was arrived from *Furli* with One Hundred Men at Arms, to follow the Invaders. But theſe, to avoid the Danger of being hemmed in between two Armies, turned off and joined the Duke of *Urbino*, who had marched from *Perugia*, and was encamped with the reſt of the *Venetian* Forces between *Ravenna* and *Furli*, with little Hopes of undertaking any thing of Conſequence. For beſides the *Florentine* Troops in *Romagna*, the Duke of *Milan* had Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Archers in that Territory, excluſive of One Thouſand Foot appointed to guard the important Paſſes of *Furli* and *Imola*. A. D. 1498.

DURING theſe Tranſactions *Pagolo Vitelli*, having made himſelf Maſter of *Vico Piſano*, reſted there ſome Days; but finding Proviſions grow ſhort, and being deſirous of ſtraitening more and more the *Piſans*, he reſolved on the Siege of *Libra-fatto*. And in order to attack the Place on the weakeſt Side, and to avoid the Inconveniences attending the March of *Vitelli's* Exploits in the *Piſan*.

A. D. 1498. an Army incumbered with Artillery and heavy Baggage, he choſe to avoid the beaten Road that leads over the Hills to the Plains of *Piſa*, as alſo another Road, that goes round the Hills from the Plains of *Lucca* to *Librafatta*; and, with the Help of a vaſt Number of Pioneers, made a new Way over the Mountains, by which he marched, taking in by the Way a Redoubt the *Piſans* had erected on *Monte Maggiore*, and deſcended into the Plain of *Librafatta* unmoleſted. The next Day without much Difficulty he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Potito* and *Caſtel Vecchio*, two Forts near one another, and at a ſmall Diſtance from the Town; on this laſt Fort, and ſome other Places of Advantage, he planted his Artillery, in Hopes that the Walls being by this Means battered above and below, the Breaches might be mounted, and the Place taken the next Day. But in the Night an Arch of the Wall fell down, and filled up the Breach to the Height of Four Braces *; ſo that *Vitelli* having in vain attempted to ſcale the Walls for Three Days ſucceſſively, began to doubt

* A *Tuſcan* Brace is 23 Inches.

doubt of Succeſs, and the more becauſe the Beſiegers were greatly annoyed by a large Piece of Cannon that ſcoured their Trenches. But *Pagolo*'s Courage and Induſtry on this Occaſion were highly indebted to Fortune, without whoſe Favour good Generals often find their moſt promiſing Hopes fruſtrated; for a lucky Shot from the Camp diſmounted the Enemy's murdering Piece of Cannon, killed one of their beſt Gunners, and made its Way through the Rampart. This Accident ſo terrified the Beſieged, who beſides could not mount the Wall without great Danger from the Cannon on *Caſtel Vecchio*, that they capitulated the Fourth Day, and ſurrendered the Town, and ſoon after the Caſtle when the Cannon began to play. A. D. 1498. *Librafatta* taken.

LIBRAFATTA being taken, *Pagolo* ſet his Men at Work in erecting Forts on the neighbouring Hills, particularly a large and ſtrong Fort at *Santa Maria in Caſtello*, which from the Mount on which it was ſeated was called *Ventura*; from this Fort he made Excurſions all over the Country.

A. D. 1498. Country. It is reported that on this very Spot of Ground, *Caſtruccio* of *Lucca*, a famous Commander, formerly built a Caſtle, by means of which, and of *Libra-fatta*, he intercepted all Convoys of Proviſions coming to *Piſa* from *Lucca* and *Pietra Santa*.

THE *Venetians*, always attentive on every thing that might conduce to the Preſervation of *Piſa*, thought of making an Advantage of ſome Diſcontent and Uneaſineſs of the Marquis of *Mantua*, who was in the Duke of *Milan*'s Service, and was diſſatisfied at his being refuſed the Title of Captain-General, which *Lodovico* did not think fit to grant, leſt it ſhould offend *Giovanni Galeazzo da Sanſeverino*, on whom he had conferred that Honour, more out of perſonal Regard, than for true Merit. But he made the Marquis a Promiſe that in Three Months Time he would procure him the Title of Captain-General, either from the King of the *Romans*, or from the Pope, or from the King of *Naples*, or at leaſt from the *Florentines*. The Three Months being elapſed,

elapſed, and nothing done in his Favour, and his Pay being alſo in Arrear, the Marquis applied himſelf to the *Venetians*, offering to enter again into their Service. They accepted this Offer of the Marquis, and agreed to ſend him to *Piſa* at the Head of Three Hundred Men at Arms. *Lodovico* being appriſed of this Negotiation, with *Galeazzo*'s Conſent, declared him Captain-General both of his own and *Cæſar*'s Forces. But the Marquis had already been at *Venice*, and, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made by the *Florentines*, had accepted of their Commiſſion, had received a Sum of Money to enable him to march to the Aſſiſtance of the *Piſans*, and was returned to *Mantua* to put himſelf in Readineſs. And had the *Venetians* been as expeditious in diſpatching as they were in enliſting him, they might have retained him, and ſecured him in their Service: But they proceeded ſlowly, on account of an Offer that was made them by ſome old Friends of the *Medici*, who engaged to deliver the Caſtle of *Bibiena* in the *Caſentino* into their Hands, and repreſenting the Difficulties of ſending Re-

A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. Reinforcements to *Piſa*, inclined the Senate to conclude it more expedient to ſet their Thoughts on making Diverſions than on ſending Succours. The Marquis provoked at this Delay, returned into *Lodovico*'s Service with Three Hundred Men at Arms and One Hundred light Horſe, and was complimented with the Title of Captain-General of the Imperial and *Milaneſe* Forces. As for the Money he had received of the *Venetians*, he pretended it was his Due upon old Arrears.

THE Plot concerning *Bibiena* was not carried on ſo ſecretly but that the *Florentines* got notice of it, and having been informed of all the Particulars from *Bologna*, immediately deputed a Commiſſary to *Bibiena* to prevent the Danger. But the moſt careful and prudent Deſigns are rendered vain and uſeleſs, when negligently or imprudently conducted. The Commiſſary indeed immediately ſecured the moſt ſuſpected, but was afterwards weak enough to releaſe them on the bare Credit of their own Aſſeverations; and took ſo little Precaution in other Reſpects, that he facilitated

tated the Meaſures of the Diſaffected. *Alviano*, who was intruſted with the Execution of the Plot, diſpatched ſome of his Horſemen, accoutred like Travellers, who riding all Night arrived by Break of Day at *Bibiena*, and ſeized on a Gate of the Town without Oppoſition, for the Commiſſary had placed no Guard, nor ſo much as given Orders, as in ſuſpicious Times he ought, not to open the Gates ſo early as uſual. This firſt Party was ſoon followed by ſucceſſive Detachments of Horſe, who gave out on the Road, that they belonged to *Vitelli*. Their Friends in the Town had now no more to do but to declare themſelves openly with all Security, and thus was the Place taken without a Blow *. *Alviano* arrived the ſame Day, and tho' his Force was but ſmall,

A. D. 1498.

Bibiena taken by Stratagem.

* *Bembo* writes that the *Venetians* paſſed for *Florentines* come to reinforce the Gurriſon, by which Stratagem they had before got Poſſeſſion of the famous Monaſtery of *Camaldoli*. *Buonocorſi* ſays that *Piero de' Medici* and *Alviano* ſent a Gentleman with a Letter ſigned with Ten counterfeit Names of Magiſtrates of *Florence*, ordering Quarters to be provided for Eighty Horſe on their March thither commanded by *Giulio Vitelli*, by which Means *Alviano* with One Hundred Horſe was admitted into the Town inſtead of *Vitelli*.

A. D. 1498. ſmall, yet as he was never wanting to puſh his good Fortune with all poſſible Celerity, he immediately inveſted *Poppi*, the ſtrongeſt Fortreſs in the Vale of *Bibiena*; but finding it well provided, he thought fit to draw off, and take Poſſeſſion of all the little Places in the Neighbourhood of *Bibiena*, tho' of no great Importance. The River *Arno* runs through the *Caſentino*, which is a narrow, rocky, and barren Country, at the Foot of the *Appennines*, at that Time covered with Snow, as it was the beginning of Winter; but it was a Paſs that, if *Poppi* had been taken, would have commanded the Road to *Florence*, and lay no leſs convenient for a Paſſage into the rich and fertile Territories of *Arezzo* and *Valdarno*, which are full of Towns and Villages, and of great Importance to the *Florentines*, who were by no means wanting to themſelves in ſo dangerous a Juncture, but made Proviſion of all Things neceſſary for Defence in every Place that required. And by keeping good Intelligence, they had the good Fortune to diſcover and ſuppreſs a Conſpiracy forming againſt them at *Arezzo*, and imme-

immediately ſent Orders to Count *Rinuccio*, who was in the *Piſan*, to march and poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſſes between *Valdibagno* and *La Pieva San Stefano*, in order to prevent the *Venetians* from pouring more Troops into the *Caſentino*. But all their Precaution could not hinder the Duke of *Urbino*, *Carlo Orſino*, and other Generals, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Six Thouſand Foot, and ſome *German* Mercenaries, from penetrating into that Country, and intirely ſubjecting the ſame, except the Fortreſs of *Poppi*, which was a ſecond time attempted in vain. *A. D.* 1498.

Duke of *Urbino* invades the *Caſentino*.

THIS unexpected Irruption put the *Florentines* under a Neceſſity of recalling *Pagolo Vitelli* with his Forces from the *Piſan*, which was what the *Venetians* chiefly had in View by making this Diverſion. That General leaving ſufficient Garriſons in Fort *Ventura* and other important Places *, marched into the *Caſentino*, and obliged the Enemy to quit the Neigh-

Florentine Forces march againſt the Duke.

* *Bembo* tells us that *Vitelli* gave a general Aſſault to *Piſa* before he went off.

A. D. 1498. Neighbourhood of *Prato Vecchio*, where they had begun to entrench themſelves, and being afterwards joined by *Fracaſſa* with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Foot from the Duke of *Milan*, reduced them to great Straits. The *Venetians* were diſperſed in ſmall Bodies, for Conveniency of Quarters, and were beſides obliged to poſt ſeveral Corps in the Paſſes of *Verni*, *Chiuſi*, and *Montalone*, ſituate on the Tops of the *Apennines*, to ſecure themſelves a Retreat. They had now little Hopes left of making any Progreſs here or elſewhere, for *Rinuccio* with Two Hundred Lances had thrown himſelf into *Arezzo*, and the Peaſants were by no Means their Friends, being diſaffected to the Family of the *Medici*, and beſides their Horſes wanted Forage in that hilly Country. For theſe Reaſons it was thought fit to ſend back the Artillery with part of the heavy Baggage, and to draw their Quarters as cloſe as the Situation of the Country would permit.

VITELLI had determined to proceed with Caution, and to attempt nothing with

with Precipitation, as he was naturally wary and patient. To obtain a conſiderable Advantage, he never regarded Length of Time, or Hardſhip of Fatigue. He would not, to ſave Expences, venture on an Undertaking without an abundant Supply of all Neceſſaries; neither would he, for the Glory of obtaining an eaſy and ſpeedy Victory, raſhly endanger his Army, and the Succeſs of his Enterprize. With this Diſpoſition he deferred the Attack of the ſtrong Places in the *Caſentino* till he had made himſelf Maſter of the weakeſt, and ſecured the Paſſes of the *Apennines*, with Guards, Forts, and other Incumbrances, by ſpoiling the Roads, and felling Trees acroſs them, by which means the Enemy would not only be prevented from receiving freſh Supplies, but be diſabled from giving Aſſiſtance to each other from their different Quarters. In this manner he hoped to diſtreſs them, not doubting but their chief Strength, which lay in and about *Bibiena*, would ſoon be put to Hardſhips for want of Proviſions and Forage. With this View he took Poſſeſſion of ſeveral ſmall Places, inſignificant in themA. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. ſelves, but ſerviceable to his Purpoſes, and afterwards ſurpriſed ſeveral Men at Arms in their Quarters about *Bibiena*. As ſoon as he received Intelligence that the *Venetians* were aſſembling a Body of Men on the other Side of the Mountains, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Places about Mount *Verna*, and blocked up all the Paſſes, and ſpoiled the Roads, to prevent their marching to the Succour of their Troops on this Side the Hills in the *Caſentino*, by which Means the Enemy's Forces in that Country were greatly diſtreſſed, Numbers deſerted, and many others fell into the Hands of the Peaſants in that rough and difficult Country, and were ſtripped and plundered.

Venetians ſick of the War.

THO' the *Florentine* Ambaſſadors had left *Venice* without Succeſs, another Negotiation was ſet on Foot in *Ferrara*, at the Sollicitations of the *Venetians*. For many of the graver Senators began to be tired of a War that was maintained at ſo vaſt an Expence, and attended with ſuch Difficulties; and as they had now no Proſpect of making any farther Progreſs in

in the *Caſentino*, they grew more and more deſirous of relinquiſhing their vexatious Engagements with *Piſa*, provided they could extricate themſelves with Honour. A. D. 1498.

ALL this while the King of *France* was making Preparations to invade the *Milaneſe* the following Year, and expected to be joined by the *Venetians*, the mortal Enemies of *Lodovico*. For this End he entered into a Treaty of ſtrict Alliance with the Republic. But he treated with more Freedom and Confidence of a firm Union with the Pope; who, tho' diſappointed of an Alliance with *Federigo* by his rejecting the Match propoſed by his Holineſs, ſtill retained his ambitious Views towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, and put all his Truſt in the King for obtaining, through his Means, *Federigo*'s Daughter *Charlotta*, who was brought up at the *French* Court, for his Son Cardinal *Valenza*. *Lewis*, at whoſe Diſpoſal the Princeſs ſeemed to be, had given the Pope Encouragement to hope that his Deſire would be gratified. On this Proſpect the

King of *France* treats with the *Venetians*, and with the Pope.

A. D. 1498. Cardinal came one Morning into the Conſiſtory, and humbly intreated his Holineſs and their Eminences the Cardinals for Leave to diveſt himſelf of his Eccleſiaſtic Habit and Dignity, and to follow that Profeſſion to which he ſeemed ordained by Fate. On giving their Conſent, he clothed himſelf in ſecular Apparel, and prepared for his Journey to *France*. The Pope had already promiſed to ſend the King a Bull for his Divorce, and *Lewis* in return had obliged himſelf, as ſoon as he ſhould have conquered the Dutchy of *Milan*, to aſſiſt him in reducing to the Obedience of the Apoſtolic See the Cities poſſeſſed by the Vicars in *Romagna*, and to pay him immediately Thirty Thouſand Ducats, which his preſent Exigences required. This Sum, he pretended, was no more than what was neceſſary for the King's Intereſt, ſince he was obliged to keep an extraordinary Guard to defend himſelf from Conſpiracies, which he expected would be formed againſt him on account of his Union with *France*. In the Execution of this Treaty the King began with paying the

Articles of the Treaty.

Money,

Money, and the Pope committed the Affair of the Divorce to his Nuncio the Biſhop of *Ceuta*, and to the Archbiſhops of *Paris* and *Rouen*. The Queen at firſt pleaded in Court by her Counſel, but finding ſhe could not confide in her Judges, and that ſhe muſt at laſt be obliged to ſubmit to the King's Power, ſhe withdrew her Plea, and gave up the Cauſe, agreeing to accept of the Revenues of the Dutchy of *Berry* for her Maintenance, with an Addition of Thirty Thouſand Livres Yearly. The Sentence of Divorce was pronounced by the Judges, and nothing now remained for the Solemnization of the new Marriage, but the Diſpenſation to be brought by *Cæſar Borgia*, who from Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Valenza*, now became a Soldier and Duke *Valentino*, for the King had made him a Captain of One Hundred Lances, with a Salary of Twenty Thouſand Livres, and gave him the City of *Valence* in *Dauphiné*, with the Title of Duke, and a Revenue of Twenty Thouſand Livres more *. The Duke embarked at *Oſtia* on

A. D. 1498.

Lewis divorced.

* *Valence*, a City in *Dauphiny*, is the Capital of the *Valentinois*, and was erected into a Dutchy for *Cæſar Borgia*.

A. D. 1498. on board a Squadron the King had ſent thither for that Purpoſe, and arrived at Court the latter End of the Year with great Pomp and Magnificence, where he was received by the King with wonderful Marks of Eſteem. He brought with him a Cardinal's Hat for *George D'Amboiſe*, who had conſtantly attended the King both in his good and bad Fortune, and had a great Share in his Confidence. But *Valentino*'s firſt Step at Court was by no means ſatisfactory. He pretended that he had not brought with him the Bull of Diſpenſation, being thus inſtructed by his Father, who imagined that the King's Eagerneſs would forward his Deſigns, and that he would be ſooner induced to gratify him with the Expectation than with the Remembrance of a Benefit. But the Biſhop of *Ceuta*, under a Promiſe of Secrecy, revealed the whole Myſtery. Wherefore the King being well ſatisfied in his Conſcience of the Expedition of the Bull, made no farther Scruple, but went to Bed to his new Bride *. The Duke

Archbp. of *Rouen* made a Cardinal.

* The Wife from whom *Lewis* was divorced was Gia-

Duke then thought fit to produce the Bull, but being informed how he had been betrayed by the Biſhop, he took care afterwards to have him diſpatched by Poiſon. *A. D.* 1498.

THE King was now very ſollicitous to prevent Diſturbances from the neighbouring Princes. He concluded a Peace with the King of *Spain*, and that Monarch reſolving to interfere no more in the Affairs of *Italy*, recalled all his Ambaſſadors from that Country, excepting one at *Rome*, and ordered *Gonſalvo* and his Forces to return into *Spain*, yielding to *Federigo* thoſe Places in the Province of *Calabria* which he had hitherto detained. *Lewis* concludes a Peace with *Spain*

BUT *Lewis* found it more difficult to accommodate Matters with the King of the *Romans*, who took Occaſion from ſome Tumults ariſing in *Burgundy*, to enter that Country; for which Purpoſe he was furniſhed by *Lodovico* with a conſiderable

Giovanna, Siſter to *Charles* VIII. a crooked Lady. His new Wife was *Anne* Dutcheſs of *Britany*, Widow of *Charles* VIII.

A. D. 1498. ſiderable Sum of Money, on a Preſumption that a War with *Cæſar* would prevent the *Italian* Expedition, or if a Peace was concluded that he ſhould be comprehended in the Treaty, as *Maximilian* had promiſed him. But after ſome Time ſpent in negotiating the King ſigned a Treaty with the Archduke, by which he reſtored to him the Towns he poſſeſſed in the Province of *Artois*. The King of the *Romans* was ſo well ſatisfied with this Peace, ſo advantageous to his Son, that he agreed to a Truce for ſeveral Months, without any Mention of *Lodovico*, with whom he pretended to be diſſatisfied, for not continuing to comply with his exorbitant Demands of Money.

Lewis confirms the Peace with England.

THE King of *France* alſo confirmed the Peace his Predeceſſor had made with *England*, and having thus taken all Precautions for the Security of his Dominions, he rejected all the Overtures made him by the Duke of *Milan*, who had corrupted ſeveral of the Courtiers, and tried all Methods to get both *Venetians* and *Florentines* into his Intereſt. And that *Piſa* might

might be no Bar to his Deſigns, he preſſed the *Venetians* to depoſite the ſame in his Hands; and to induce the *Florentines* not to raiſe Objections, he underhand promiſed to reſtore it to them after a ſhort Time *. This Treaty, which was full of Difficulties, and entered into with different Views and Intereſts, was for ſeveral Months variouſly conducted. For the *Florentines* in the Caſe under Conſideration muſt have entered into an Alliance with *France*, and as it was doubted whether *Lewis* was a more religious Obſerver of his Treaties than his Predeceſſor had been, the Government could not agree amongſt themſelves. Thus the City, agitated between the Ambition of the chief Citizens and the Licentiouſneſs of the popular Government, and at the ſame Time engaged with the Duke of *Milan* on account of *Piſa*, was ſo divided, that it was with great Difficulty that any thing of Moment could A. D. 1498.

* The *Florentines* agreed to have *Piſa* depoſited in the King's Hands, but uſed their Endeavours to have it depoſited in the Hands of *Pagolo Vitelli*, the King's Friend, or with the College of Cardinals, who ſhould be impowered to deliver it without the Pope's Conſent. *Buonacorſi*.

A. D. 1498. could be ſettled, while ſome of the great Men wiſhed the Downfal of the Duke of *Milan* by the Hands of the *French*, and others were as much in his Intereſt.

Venetians againſt the Depoſite. THE *Venetians*, how much ſoever inclined to enter into an Alliance with *France*, were determined not to yield to the Depoſite, for they expected better Terms, both as to the Reimburſment of their Expences, and with reſpect to their Honour, from the Treaty at *Ferrara*. *Lodovico* choſe alſo to have this Matter rather ſettled by the Duke of *Ferrara*, leſt the depoſiting of *Piſa* might be a Means of uniting the *Venetians* and *Florentines* with *France*. He was not without Hopes alſo that if Affairs were once determined by the *Italians* themſelves, the *Venetians* might be induced to give over all Thoughts of attempting any thing to his Prejudice. But theſe were the very Reaſons why *Lewis* did not approve the Treaty of *Ferrara*; and the Pope, always on the Watch to take Advantage of the Misfortunes of others, did his Endeavours to weaken and diſturb it.

it. For as his Authority was very great with the King in all Matters relating to *Italy*, he imagined that if the Treaty concerning the Depoſite made any Progreſs, his Holineſs might have a Share in the Management. *A. D.* 1498.

It was now under Deliberation at *Venice*, whether, in caſe the *French* ſhould give up the Point of the Depoſite, which they were reſolved never to comply with, they ſhould join the *French* againſt the Duke of *Milan*, as they were earneſtly ſollicited, and moreover tempted with an Offer of *Cremona*, and the whole *Ghiradadda*. This Acquiſition and Enlargement of Dominion was univerſally liked, and eligible in itſelf, but the Conditions on which it was to be obtained deſerved the moſt ſerious Conſideration, as it appeared too dangerous to the Republic, to ſuffer the *French* Power to grow to an extravagant Height in *Italy*. A Council of the Pregati, which ſupplies the Place of the Senate, was ſummoned, where after long Debates from time to time, on the Day appointed for coming to a final Reſo-

A. D. 1498. Reſolution, *Antonio Grimano*, a Senator of great Authority, ſpoke as follows.

Grimano's Speech. "WHEN I conſider, illuſtrious Senators, the immenſe Favours *Lodovico* has received from our Republic, which in theſe latter Years hath often preſerved his Dominions, and on the other Hand his vile Ingratitude, and the Injuries he has done us in order to oblige us to abandon the Defence of *Piſa*, to which he himſelf had encouraged and incited us, I don't in the leaſt doubt but that it is the general Sentiment of this illuſtrious Body, that we ought to take a ſignal Revenge. For what Infamy can be greater than to be paſſive under Affronts, which would render us contemptible in the Eyes of all the World. We ſhould be thought degenerated from our glorious Anceſtors, who when provoked but by ſlight Injuries, never refuſed to undergo any Danger to preſerve the Dignity of the *Venetian* Name. For the Deliberations of Republics require no mean and private Conſiderations, or which tend only to Profit, but it is neceſſary that they ſhould aſpire

to

to more noble Ends, by which they may increaſe their Glory and Reputation, which are eaſily loſt when they give Occaſion to think that we want Spirit to reſent Affronts, or Courage to revenge them. But theſe are both neceſſary at preſent, not only for the Pleaſure and Sweetneſs attending a juſt Vengeance, but that the Puniſhment of the Offender may ſerve as an Example to deter others from giving the like Provocation. In ſuch a Conduct we ſhall conſult both our Honour and Utility, for generous Reſolutions produce Glory and Profit. By ſuffering one Inconveniency many greater are often prevented, and one ſhort Trouble may free us from a Train of others. But if we conſider the Situation of Affairs in *Italy*, the Diſpoſition of ſeveral Powers to moleſt us, and the Snares and miſchievous Devices of *Lodovico Sforza*, we muſt be conſtrained to own that Neceſſity more than any other Conſideration ought to influence us in our preſent Debate. For the Duke of *Milan*, incited by his natural Ambition, and his Hatred to this moſt excellent Senate, not only makes it his perpetual Study

A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. Study to ſet all *Italy*, with the King of the *Romans*, and the whole *Germanic* Body, againſt us, but has even commenced a Treaty with the *Turk* for the ſame vile Purpoſe of annoying us. You are all ſenſible that it is through his Means that we meet with ſuch Difficulties, as almoſt render us incapable of ſupporting the *Piſans*, or proſecuting the War in the *Caſentino*, which if continued becomes dangerous, and if abandoned ſhameful, unleſs we can find ſome other Way to retrieve our ſinking Reputation, the Decay of which would elate the Spirits, and gratify the Malice of thoſe who ſeek our Ruin. All the World knows how much eaſier it is to depreſs ſuch as appear to be on the Decline, than thoſe who, by their exalted Station, ſeem placed above the Reach of Envy. You would ſoon be convinced of this Truth, illuſtrious Senators, by ſeeing the Peace of this flouriſhing State deſtroyed, and the Noiſe of War and Tumults would at this Inſtant alarm our Fears, were not *Lodovico* kept in ſuſpenſe by his Apprehenſions of our joining with the *French*.

But

But ſhould we refuſe their Offers, theſe Apprehenſions would ſoon be at an End: For without our Aſſiſtance the King would not undertake this Expedition, and then poſſibly by the Artifices of *Lodovico*, or the Corruption of the *French* Miniſtry, he might be drawn into a Compoſition with the Duke of *Milan* to our Coſt and Damage. In this Caſe therefore if we have the Good of the Republic at Heart, and are zealous to maintain its antient Dignity and Glory, we muſt reſolve with one Conſent to join with *France*, and the more heartily as it appears to be the beſt Expedient for avoiding the Danger that threatens us. And I think we ought to congratulate ourſelves on the good Fortune of this State, which has inclined a mighty King voluntarily to intreat from us what our Intereſt and Safety ſhould move us to implore from him; and all this on ſuch honourable Conditions, and enforced with ſuch advantageous Offers, as may render this illuſtrious Body capable of forming hereafter ſome greater and nobler Deſigns. Nor have we any Reaſon to doubt of Succeſs, for where can *Lodovico* ſeek an A. D. 1498.

Aſylum,

A. D. 1498. Aſylum, whither can he fly for Refuge, when hunted and ſurrounded by two ſuch mighty Powers? The only Objection of which I am aware is, the Danger that may be imagined to threaten our Republic from the Poſſeſſion of *Milan* by the *French*. But even this Objection will loſe much of its Force, if it be conſidered that in ſuch a Poſture of Affairs, many Circumſtances would appear in our Favour, which are now viſibly againſt us. For it is not to be doubted but ſuch an Increaſe of Power in the *French* would alarm all *Italy*, and provoke the Reſentments of the King of the *Romans* and the *Germanic* Body, who will by no means ſuffer ſo noble a Member of the Empire to become a Province to *France*. The Conſequence of this muſt be, that thoſe very States which now fill us with Apprehenſions of their confederating with the Duke of *Milan* againſt us, would then, for their own Intereſt, appear in our Defence. And ſuch is the univerſal Reputation of our Power, ſo current the Fame of our Riches, and, what is ſtill more reſpectable, ſuch is the confirmed Opinion of our Union and Con-

Conſtancy in the Preſervation of our Dominions, illuſtrated by ſo many Examples, that the King of *France* will not venture to attack us, but in Conjunction with other Powers, and eſpecially the King of the *Romans*; a Confederacy ſo ill ſuited, and attended with ſo many Difficulties, that it would be vain for him to expect it, or for us to fear it. Nor is it to be thought that the Peace which he is now endeavouring to ſettle with his Neighbours, will be permanent; for, alas! Envy, Umbrage, and Fears of his Increaſe of Power, will awaken and reanimate all thoſe who had before found Matter for Diſpute or Emulation. It is a general Obſervation that the *French* are more reſolute in acquiring than prudent in preſerving, and how ſoon they become hateful to their new Subjects by their inſolent Behaviour. For which Reaſon, ſhould they conquer *Milan*, they will be rather under a Neceſſity of attending to its Preſervation, than find Leiſure to enter on other Projects. For a new Conqueſt, not well ſettled, or imprudently governed, rather diminiſhes than increaſes the Power A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. of the Conqueror. And have we not a recent and convincing Proof of this Truth in the Management of the late King? How did he ſee all the Love and Fondneſs of the *Neapolitans*, who had invited his Preſence, and received him with open Arms, all of a ſudden converted into Extremity of Hatred and Averſion! The Danger therefore to be apprehended from a *French* Victory in Time to come, is not of ſuch a Nature, that to avoid it we ſhould chuſe to remain in preſent and certain Danger. To refuſe, for the ſake of future and uncertain Loſſes, ſo rich and commodious a Part of the *Milaneſe*, could be imputed only to a Want of Reſolution, or a kind of Puſillanimity, deſpicable in private Life, but much more in a Republic, which, excepting the *Roman*, is the moſt glorious and powerful that ever exiſted on Earth. Opportunities like this are rare and tranſient, and it is the Part of Prudence and a generous Reſolution to lay hold of them, as on the contrary it would be Folly and Meanneſs of Spirit to reject them. Wiſdom that is over curious, and too nicely ponders Events,

Events, is often blameable; for human Affairs are ſo ſubject to Viciſſitudes, that the Succeſs of an Enterprize rarely anſwers the End of the wiſeſt Projectors; and that Perſon who dares not embrace a preſent Good for fear of a dubious and diſtant Evil, will in vain repent his loſt Opportunity of acquiring Wealth and Glory, out of Fear of an approaching Danger, which he found afterwards vaniſhed. Theſe are the Reaſons which induce me to give my Opinion for entering into an Alliance againſt the Duke of *Milan*. It is, in my Judgment, highly conducive to our preſent Safety and Dignity, and is attended with ſuch an Acquiſition as at any other Time we ſhould ſpare neither Trouble nor Expence to obtain; not only for the Importance of the Thing itſelf, but as it opens a Door for extending our Views, and making further Acquiſitions, to the wonderful Augmentation of the Glory and Empire of this moſt powerful Republic." A. D. 1498.

THIS Speech was heard with great Attention, and ſeemed in general to be

A. D. 1498. favourably received. There were many among the Senators that applauded the Speaker's Greatneſs of Mind, and his zealous Concern for the Honour and Intereſt of his Country. But *Marchione Treviſano* thus replied:

Treviſano's Speech. "IT is not denied, moſt prudent Senators, but that the Provocations given to our Republic by *Lodovico* are exceeding great, and very offenſive to our Dignity; yet the greater they are, and the more they excite our Indignation, ſo much the more it becomes our Prudence to moderate our juſt Reſentment with Maturity of Judgment, and with Conſiderations adapted to the preſent Welfare of the Republic. The more our Anger or any other Paſſion is kindled, the more commendable is it to know how to overcome ourſelves, and the greater and juſter the Provocation that excites our Reſentment, the greater ought to be the Praiſe. It is therefore the Buſineſs of this Senate, ſo renowned for its Wiſdom, and which glories in the Name it has lately acquired of *Deliverer of* Italy *from the* French *Bondage*,

Bondage, maturely to conſider with what Reproaches ſhe might juſtly be charged, if the *French* by her Means ſhould be tempted to return. We ſhould do well to reflect on the Danger to which we ſhould lie conſtantly expoſed, whenever that Nation becomes Maſters of the Dutchy of *Milan*. Recall to Memory the Conſternation we were in when *Charles* made the Conqueſt of *Naples*. We never thought ourſelves ſecure till we had formed a Confederacy of almoſt all the Chriſtian Powers againſt him. But what a Diſparity between one Danger and the other! That King, in a manner deſtitute of every Royal Virtue, was but a weak Prince, and almoſt ridiculous; and the Kingdom of *Naples* ſo far diſtant from *France*, that the Supplies which he was continually obliged to ſend thither divided his Forces, and by that means his Conqueſt rather weakened than increaſed his Power; and that Acquiſition being ſo near the Dominions of the Pope and *Spain*, made them both his Enemies. But now we muſt be ſenſible that the firſt proceeds on other Views, and the other; *A. D.* 1498.

A. D. 1498. tired with the Affairs of *Italy*, is determined to ſtand neuter in the preſent Juncture. On the other Side, the King now reigning is endowed with ſuch natural Parts, that he is rather to be dreaded than deſpiſed, and the State of *Milan* is ſo nigh the Kingdom of *France*, that it is capable of receiving continual Supplies, ſo as to leave us no Probability of expelling him without putting all *Europe* in Motion. Hence it appears that as we are neareſt to ſo formidable a Power, we muſt be obliged to be at a vaſt Expence in time of Peace, and if a War ſhould happen, be greatly diſtreſſed. I muſt own my Aſtoniſhment at what was advanced by the venerable Perſon who ſpoke laſt. He ſeems to be under no Apprehenſions from a King of *France* Duke of *Milan*, and, on the other hand, alarms us with the Name of *Lodovico Sforza*, a petty Prince in Compariſon, and much inferior to us in Strength, and who thro' his natural Timidity and Avarice has always rendered his Undertakings abortive. He ſeemed uneaſy and jealous of the Aſſiſtance of his own Confederates if they did not come

come into all his Meaſures, or diſagreed amongſt themſelves; as if it were poſſible that Governments of different Conſtitutions and Intereſts ſhould unite exactly in the ſame Sentiments; or that one great Power, collected within itſelf, and exerting its whole Force, had not much the Advantage of a Confederacy made up of leſſer Potentates, who having different Views, and acting from different Motives, muſt of Conſequence diſagree in their Operations. It would be in vain to expect that thoſe who had ever wiſhed our Deſtruction ſhould now lie ſtill and forget all our former Provocations and Encroachments, ſince our own Ambition will not ſuffer us to take ſo prudent a Step ourſelves at this Juncture. I now not what Grounds we have to expect that the King of the *Romans* and the *Germanic* Body will awake out of their Lethargy, and reſume their antient Hatred and Jealouſy of *France*, on account of the Dutchy of *Milan*; but rather wiſh they may not take their Revenge upon us, who have ſo much increaſed our Dominions with the Territories wreſted from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and

A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. from the Empire. Nor can I conceive why the King of the *Romans* ſhould ſooner join with our Republic againſt *France*, than with *France* againſt us. On the contrary it is more likely that thoſe *Barbarians*, eternal Enemies to the *Italians*, ſhould enter into cloſer Bands of Union, with a View to make us fall an eaſy Prey to their unbounded Ambition. And they may reaſonably expect an eaſier Victory when thus united with one another againſt us, than one of them can hope in conjunction with us againſt the other. But I ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould at all covet an Alliance with the King of the *Romans*, when we conſider his Conduct in our late Confederacy with him, and his Operations in *Italy*. *Lodovico* has injured us grievouſly, I own it; but it can never be Prudence to expoſe our own State to a dangerous War merely out of Revenge; nor will it be ſhameful to wait for proper Opportunities, which cannot fail of offering themſelves ſooner or later; on the contrary it would be highly blameable to ſhew our Reſentment before we can ſafely ſtrike the Blow. A Government

muſt

muſt expect to be treated with Scorn, when public Loſſes are known to be the Conſequence of raſh and indiſcreet Reſolutions. But this will be the Caſe if we follow the Advice given, for it will not be thought that we have entered into the Alliance recommended for the Sake of the common Safety, but every one will judge that we have been influenced by the Deſire of acquiring *Cremona*; and then it will be a common Queſtion, What is become of the antient Prudence, Gravity and Wiſdom of the *Venetian* Senate? And indeed all the World may juſtly cry out againſt us for being ourſelves guilty of that Ruthneſs and Imprudence we have ſo much condemned in *Lodovico*; I mean inviting the *French* King into *Italy*. The Advantage of our being Maſters of *Cremona* would, I admit, be very conſiderable on account of its Situation and Strength, which render it in many Reſpects very commodious to our State. But then we ought to conſider whether putting the King of *France* in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan* does not vaſtly overballance this Conveniency.

A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. I doubt not but upon mature Reflexion we ſhall be ready to conclude that it is more for our Intereſt, as well as our Grandeur and Reputation, to be, as we now are, the chief and moſt abſolute Power in *Italy*, than to have, in the Heart of this Country, and on our Borders, a Prince infinitely ſuperior to our Republic. We have been in times paſt ſometimes in Amity, at other times at Enmity with *Lodovico*; and this is no more than what may happen continually. The Difficulties concerning *Piſa* are not ſo perplexing but that ſome Way of Accommodation may be found; nor are they of that Conſequence as to make us endanger the State by precipitate Meaſures. But we ſhall never want Occaſions to quarrel with the *French* when they become our Neighbours, from the natural Antipathy of the *Italians* to all *Barbarians*, from the Pride of the *French*, from that Hatred which Monarchs always bear to Republics, and from the Ambition that is conſtantly moving the more powerful to oppreſs the weaker. For theſe Reaſons I am not at all allured with the King's Offer of

of *Cremona*. On the contrary I rather dread the Iſſue, as it will give him a Pretence to attack us; for which Purpoſe he will be conſtantly ſollicited by the *Milaneſe*, who can never be eaſy at the Alienation of *Cremona* from their Dutchy; not to mention that the *Germans*, and King of the *Romans* will be highly offended, for both *Cremona* and the *Ghiradadda* are Members of the Empire. It is not therefore our Intereſt with new Conqueſts to create every Day new Enemies, and to raiſe Jealouſies in our Neighbours, the Conſequence of which will be, that we muſt either reduce them all under our Dominion, or expect to be beaten by them all in their Turn; and which of the two is moſt likely to happen let any one judge who is not reſolved to deceive himſelf. The Wiſdom and Caution of this Senate have ever been admired and talked of in every Corner of *Italy*, and all the World over. I truſt it will ſuffer no Diſgrace or Diminution at this time from any raſh and dangerous Reſolution. To give way to Revenge againſt one's own Intereſt is Weakneſs, to be under a greater Concern

A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. Concern for ſmall than for great Dangers is Imprudence; both which being directly oppoſite to the Wiſdom and Gravity of this illuſtrious Body, I perſuade myſelf that your Reſolution on this Head will be calm and circumſpect, as it uſually is on the like Occaſions."

The firſt Opinion prevails. THIS Opinion, tho' ſupported with ſo many cogent Reaſons, and ſeconded by the graveſt and moſt prudent Senators, could not prevail. The contrary Party carried the Queſtion, in Gratification both to their Revenge and Ambition, two Paſſions that often lead us aſtray. The Hatred that moſt of the Senate had conceived againſt *Lodovico* was exceſſive, and knew no Bounds *, any more than the longing Deſire of annexing *Cremona*, with the Country about it, and all the *Ghiaradadda* to the *Venetian* Dominion; an Ac-

* In order to exaſperate the People againſt *Lodovico*, the common Talk at *Venice* was, that it was better to make an Alliance with *France* than with a Traitor, who underhand was trying to make a private Treaty with the King againſt them; and in order to diſtreſs them was united with *Florence*, and kept Correſpondence with the *French*.

Acquiſition indeed of no ſmall Value, for it yielded a yearly Revenue of One Hundred Thouſand Ducats, but of ſtill greater Importance, as it took in almoſt the whole Courſe of the River *Oglio*, and extended their Dominions to the Bank of the *Po*, and along the River *Adda* within Fifteen Miles of the City of *Milan*, and brought them nearer to the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*; an Increaſe of Territory, that gave Reaſon for Hopes that, whenever the King of *France* ſhould be obliged to employ his main Strength on the other Side of the *Alps* againſt *Spain* or the Empire, they might have a fair Opportunity of ſeizing on the Dutchy of *Milan*; an Event they imagined at no great Diſtance, both from the natural Levity of the *French*, who knew better how to conquer than to keep, and from the Conſtitution of a Republic, which is perpetually the ſame, whereas in Kingdoms, by the Death of Sovereigns, Counſels and Meaſures of Government often ſuffer Alterations. They alſo conſidered the Difficulties the *French* would find to live in Friendſhip and good Harmony with

A. D. 1498.

A. D. 1498. with their new Subjects, on account of the Difference of their Cuſtoms and Manners from thoſe of the *Italians*.

Venetians ſign a Treaty with France.

THE Queſtion then was carried by a great Majority for entering into a Confederacy with *France*, and Orders were ſent to the Ambaſſadors of the Republic at the *French* Court to conclude a Treaty on the Terms propoſed, provided no Mention was made of the Affair of *Piſa*.

THIS Exception gave the King a great deal of Uneaſineſs, as he expected by the Depoſit to unite both *Florentines* and *Venetians* in his Intereſt; and he was alſo diſpleaſed to hear that the *Venetians* were negotiating at *Ferrara* on Means for withdrawing their Troops from *Piſa*, for he expected to have been conſulted on that Occaſion, and took it ill that, in order to get the better Terms for themſelves, they ſhould leave the *Florentines* in perfect Amity with *Lodovico*, which could not fail of rendering his Enterpriſe on *Milan* more difficult; and as the Conqueſt of

of that Dutchy was to be beneficial to the *Venetians*, he began to ſuſpect they were not in earneſt, and to fear that he ſhould receive no Aſſiſtance either from them, or from the *Florentines*. As he was not willing therefore to continue in a State of Suſpenſe, and reſented the Miſtruſt of his Honour in the Depoſit of *Piſa*, he applied himſelf ſeriouſly to put a finiſhing Hand to the Peace he was negotiating with the King of the *Romans*, by which, whilſt one of them attacked *Lodovico Sforza*, the other might, if he pleaſed, fall upon the *Venetians*. A. D. 1498.

PURSUANT to this Agreement the King ordered his Miniſters to acquaint the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, that he was determined to come into no Treaty with their Maſters before the Depoſit of *Piſa* was made; and ſending for the *Florentine* Miniſters was pleaſed to declare, that they might reſt ſecure on his royal Word that he would never ſign a Treaty with the *Venetians* on any other Terms than thoſe which he had propoſed. But, in Oppoſition to theſe Aſſurances, Duke *Valen-*

A. D. 1498. *Valentino*, and the other Agents of the Pope, with the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, and *Trivulzio*, together with all the reſt of the *Italians* who were intereſted in the War, offered to his Conſideration ſo many ſolid and cogent Reaſons, that he thought fit to alter his Reſolution. They repreſented to his Majeſty how impolitic it muſt be to prefer the Friendſhip of the *Florentines* before that of the *Venetians*, who were by much the more powerful State, and by their Situation lay more convenient for diſtreſſing the Dutchy of *Milan*. That no Advice could be more pernicious than ſuch as would induce him to deprive himſelf of their Aſſiſtance for fear of diſobliging the *Florentines*, who had Work enough upon their Hands, and lay too remote for the Scene of Action, to be of any conſiderable Service. That ſuch a Step would probably afford an Opportunity to *Lodovico* of effecting a Reconciliation with the *Venetians* at the Price of his relinquiſhing the *Florentines*, who were the Occaſion of all the Difference between them, and, what is more, of entering into a cloſe Alliance

Alliance with them; and what Obſtacles and Difficulties might ariſe from ſuch a Conjunction has been demonſtrated by late Experience. In the League that was formed againſt *Charles* the Names indeed of mighty Kings were inſerted, but no other Forces than thoſe of *Lodovico* and the *Venetians* were employed in retaking *Novara*, and preſerving the Dutchy of *Milan* againſt the Power of *France*. They did not forget to remind him how dangerous and fallacious it might prove to rely on the Faith and Friendſhip of *Maximilian*, who was forever entering upon great Projects, without Prudence to conceal, or Power to execute them. But ſhould it happen that Fortune proved favourable to his Deſigns, the King would do well to conſider the Conſequence of increaſing the Power of an inveterate and eternal Enemy to the Crown of *France*. Theſe Reaſons were of ſuch Weight with the King, that, without mentioning a Word more of *Piſa*, he entered into a Confederacy with the *Venetians*. A. D. 1498.

By this Treaty it was agreed that

A. D. 1498. while the King with a powerful Army entered the *Milaneſe*, the *Venetians* ſhould do the ſame from their Frontiers: That as ſoon as the whole Dutchy ſhould fall a Conqueſt to their united Arms, *Cremona* with all the *Ghiaradadda*, excepting a Space of about Eighty Feet along the River *Adda*, ſhould be put into the Poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*, the reſt of the Dutchy remaining to the King: That for Security of this Acquiſition to *France*, the *Venetians* ſhould ſtand obliged to maintain and keep in Readineſs a certain Number of Horſe and Foot, during a limited Time; the King on his Part engaging to act in the ſame manner with reſpect to *Cremona*, and all the Places belonging to the *Venetians* in *Lombardy*, as far as the Marſhes of *Venice*.

Articles of the Confederacy.

Treaty kept ſecret.

THESE Articles were kept ſo very ſecret, that *Lodovico* did not come to the Knowledge of them for ſeveral Months; all which Time he was doubtful whether they contained any more than a defenſive Alliance, as the Parties gave out, or offenſive with Regard to him. The whole

whole Affair indeed was ſo dexterouſly managed, that even the Pope, who was in ſuch Confidence with the King, could not for a long time inform himſelf of the Particulars. As ſoon as the Treaty was concluded, the King, avoiding any Mention of *Piſa*, propoſed to the *Florentines* Terms quite different from the former; and this mortifying Treatment, added to the Vexations they received from the *Venetians*, put them under the Neceſſity of eſpouſing the Party of the Duke of *Milan*, whoſe Forces had done them ſignal Service in the *Caſentino*. *A. D.* 1498.

THE *Venetian* Troops in the *Caſentino* were continually haraſſed by the Peaſants as well as by the Soldiers; and after ſtruggling under the Want of Proviſions, and eſpecially of Forage, in that hilly Country, were at length obliged to contract their Quarters to *Bibiena* and the adjacent Villages, yet ſtill kept Poſſeſſion of the Paſſes through which they might receive Succours, or retire in Safety when too much preſſed. *Carlo Orſino*, with his Men at Arms and a Hundred Foot, was

A. D. 1498. poſted at the Paſs of *Montalone*, and lower down *Alviano* guarded *Verria*. On the other Hand *Pagolo Vitelli* proceeding with his uſual Caution, after he had reduced the Enemy to ſo narrow a Compaſs, attempted to diſpoſſeſs them of theſe Paſſes, that their whole Strength being confined within *Bibiena*, and ſurrounded by Enemies and Mountains, they might with Eaſe be ſubdued, or dwindle away, being already very much diminiſhed *. For beſides ſmall Parties that had been taken marauding about the Mountains, Multitudes of their Foot had deſerted, and for Want of Proviſions and Forage above Fifteen Hundred of their Horſe had gone off at different Times, and been ſeverely handled and haraſſed by the Mountaineers in their Retreat. *Carlo Orſino* was at laſt obliged to abandon the Paſs of *Montalone*, and not without ſome Danger; for a Party of *Florentines*, with a Number of Peaſants,

* The Want of Proviſions had obliged them to ſend off Five Hundred Horſe, which were intercepted by the Enemy; as were alſo Four Hundred Foot, and Two Hundred Stradiotti, with the *Venetian* Proveditor's Secretary, on a Convoy of Money and Proviſions to *Bibiena*. *Bembo*.

Peaſants, who knew his Neceſſity, and expected ſuch an Event, attacked him on the Road. But as he had the Precaution to ſecure ſome Defiles towards *Bibiena*, he cut his Way through with the Loſs only of his heavy Baggage, and did conſiderable Execution upon the Enemy, who purſued him in Diſorder. This Example of *Orſini* was followed by the Commanders of the Garriſons of *Vernia* and *Chiuſi*. A. D. 1498.

THE Duke of *Urbino*, *Alviano*, *Aſtorre Baglione*, *Piero Marcello* the *Venetian* Proveditor, and *Giuliano de' Medici*, with Sixty Horſe and Seven Hundred Foot, now found themſelves all cooped up in *Bibiena*, that being the only Town remaining in their Poſſeſſion, which they were reſolved to defend in hopes of receiving Relief from *Venice*. The Senate indeed was not wanting to make Preparations for that Purpoſe, for they thought it diſhonourable to the *Venetian* Arms to be forced out of the *Caſentino*, and by maintaining a War in the Enemy's Country expected better Terms of Peace. To this End they ſent preſſing Orders to Count

A. D. 1498. *Pitigliano*, who was aſſembling ſome Troops at *Ravenna*, to be expeditious, ſince they had received repeated Advices from the Duke of *Urbino* and other Hands at *Bibiena*, that they began to want Proviſions, and, unleſs ſpeedily relieved, ſhould be obliged to capitulate. The Duke of *Milan* and his Commanders would have theſe Succours rendered uſeleſs by the Conqueſt of *Bibiena*, and for that End deſired a Reinforcement of Four Thouſand Infantry. But for many Reaſons ſuch an Enterprize was judged impracticable; ſuch as the Bitterneſs of the Seaſon in that wild and rugged Country, which obſtructed the Operations of War, and created other Inconveniencies. Beſides, the *Florentines* were in no Condition to make ſuch an Augmentation, being quite diſheartened at the vaſt and growing Expence of this vexatious War, and moreover weakened by the Diviſions which begun to take Head in their turbulent City.

Diviſions in *Florence*. THE Partiſans of *Pagolo Vitelli* in *Florence* had formed themſelves into a Body,

Body, in oppoſition to thoſe Citizens who had eſpouſed the Party of Count *Rinuccio*, an old and truſty General of the Republic, and allied to ſeveral Perſons of the firſt Rank. The Defeat of *St. Regolo*, where he had the Misfortune to command, was the Cauſe of *Vitelli*'s Promotion above him. The Count, who could not well brook Subordination; being ſent with his Regiment into the *Caſentino*, was not very readily diſpoſed to execute what he knew would only add to his Adverſary's Reputation. This Miſunderſtanding between the two Generals was exaſperated by *Pagolo*'s Temper and Conduct, for he was profuſe of the public Money among his Troops, forever diſſatisfied with the *Florentine* Commiſſaries, and often, both in Council and in the Field, ſeemed to arrogate to himſelf more Authority than became his Station. He had very lately, without acquainting the Government, granted a Paſs to the Duke of *Urbino*, who was ſick, for retiring out of the *Caſentino* *; and under Protection of the

A. D. 1498.

* *Bembo* ſays the Duke had been denied a Phyſician before he ſollicited a Paſs.

A. D. 1498. ſame Paſs, *Giuliano de' Medici* accompanied him; to the great Mortification of the *Florentines*, who imagined that if the Duke had been drove to Straits, and refuſed a Paſs, he would willingly have given up *Bibiena* for the Benefit of returning into his own Dominions for the Recovery of his Health. The Adverſaries of *Pagolo* highly exclaimed at the Indulgence ſhown to *Giuliano de' Medici*, their fellow Citizen, who after being declared a Rebel, had marched in open Arms againſt his Country. This Conduct of the General had greatly leſſened him in the Eſteem of the Government, and his Demands were not ſo readily granted. He had alſo loſt his Popularity by his Proceedings in the *Caſentino*, where what Advantages had been gotten were more owing to the Peaſants than to the Soldiery; and alſo becauſe depending on his Valour they had long ſince expected he would have put an End to the War in thoſe Parts, attributing, as is uſual with the Populace, to his Want of good Will, what was in reality owing to the Place of Action, the Seaſon, and Want of Pro-

Florentines diſſatisfied with *Vitelli.*

Proviſions. As the Reinforcement of Four Thouſand Men which had been demanded did not arrive, Count *Pitigliano* had Time to advance as far as *Elci*, a Caſtle belonging to the Duke of *Urbino* on the Borders of the *Florentines*, where he took a Review of all the Forces there aſſembled, with an Intent to paſs the *Apennines*, for which they were properly choſen and qualified with reſpect to that difficult Country, being moſtly Foot, and Men at Arms lightly armed; and this was the laſt Effort made by the *Venetians* in the *Caſentino*. *A. D.* 1498.

PAGOLO VITELLI leaving a ſufficient Number of Troops to block up *Bibiena*, and to ſecure ſome important Paſſes, marched with the reſt to the Pieve of *St. Stefano*, a Village belonging to the *Florentines* at the Foot of a high Mountain, in order to oppoſe the Enemy, whoſe Way lay down the Hill. But Count *Pitigliano*, who ſaw before him Mountains of Snow, and at the Foot of them expected a powerful Oppoſition, in narrow Defiles, which would have rendered his ad- *Vitelli marches againſt the Venetians.*

A. D. 1498. advancing dangerous even in a Summer's Day, would not attempt the Paſſage, tho' preſſed by the *Venetians*, as he uſed to ſay, with provoking rather than encouraging Orders. He had ſeveral Plans laid before him for making Diverſions, and was adviſed to march into the *Valdibagno*, where the *Florentines* had loſt ſome Towns; but he would not alter his Reſolution.

Steps towards a Peace.

BUT the more coolly the War was proſecuted, the more ardent was the Deſire of Peace on both Sides. As for *Lodovico*, he ſincerely wiſhed a Reconciliation of the Parties, in hopes that an Accommodation would render the *Venetians* leſs fond of ſeeing the *French* in *Italy*; and he alſo flattered himſelf that they would abate of their Indignation, when they were convinced of his Sincerity by his taking ſo much Pains to bring about a Peace. With this View he applied himſelf in earneſt to *Ercole d' Eſte*, his Father-in-Law, intreating him that in a gentle, but by no means threatening Manner, he would addreſs himſelf to the *Florentines*,

Florentines (who knew of his Application, and begun to ſuſpect him) and diſpoſe them to comply in ſome meaſure with the Deſire of the *Venetians* in relation to a Peace; becauſe if an Agreement could not be concluded, he ſhould be conſtrained to withdraw all, or the greateſt part of his Forces from *Tuſcany*. This Affair was in Agitation ſeveral Months at *Ferrara*, where new Difficulties ſtill ariſing, at laſt *Ercole* was deſired to come to *Venice* to facilitate the Matter. The Duke objected to this, but much greater Oppoſition was made at *Florence*, where it was known that the *Venetians* choſe to have *Ercole* the ſole Umpire of their Diſputes. But *Lodovico* was ſo preſſing in his Sollicitations that at laſt the Duke conſented to go, and the *Florentines* ſent to *Venice* *Giovanni Battiſta Ridolfo*, and *Pagolo Antonio Soderini*, two Perſons of the firſt Rank and Character in their Republic. A. D. 1498.

THE firſt Point that came under Debate was, Whether *Ercole* was to arbitrate and put an End to all Diſputes, or was only to act as Mediator between the Parties Treaty of Peace in Agitation.

A. D. 1498. Parties by endeavouring to compoſe their Differences, and for that End reducing the principal Articles in Diſpute into a narrow Compaſs, as he had done ſome Time before at *Ferrara* *. The *Florentines* were for having him act in this laſt Capacity, as Mediator only, being ſenſible that *Ercole* was more diſpoſed to favour the *Venetians*, than their Republic; and that if he was to paſs his Judgment in *Venice*, he would in a manner be under a Neceſſity of gratifying that Senate; and that tho' he ſhould be otherwiſe inclined, yet he would be biaſſed by the Duke of *Milan*, who at that time was ſeeking Occaſion to lay the *Venetians* under ſome Obligation to himſelf. And tho' many Difficulties had been removed at *Ferrara*, there ſtill remained ſome delicate Points to be adjuſted; and even what was ſettled might perhaps be altered if left to his ſole

* The Duke three Days after his Arrival at *Venice* acquainted the Senate that he had his Sentence in Writing, which he would deliver them; and that if they did not like it, they might alter it to their Mind. *Giorgio Cornaro* approved of this Offer, but the reſt rejected it as injurious to their Honour. The *Florentines* had ſome Intimation of this, and grew jealous of the Duke. *Bembo.*

ſole Arbitration. On the other Hand the *Venetians* were determined, if the Duke was not Umpire, to come into no Terms whatever; not ſo much becauſe they repoſed a Confidence in the Duke, as for other ſpecial Reaſons. The People in general were heartily tired of a War, which was vaſtly expenſive, without Hopes of Recompence; but the young and high-ſpirited among the Senators were reſolved to hearken to no Peace, but on Condition that the Liberties of the *Piſans* ſhould be preſerved, and that they ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Places in their Territory which they held when the Republic received them under her Protection. They uſed many Arguments in ſupport of this Reſolution, eſpecially their own Decree for maintaining the Liberty of the *Piſans*, which obliged them in Honour and Conſcience not to let them fall a Sacrifice. Others, tho' leſs ſcrupulous on that Head, were yet immoderate in their Demands for the Reimburſement of the Expences which the Republic had incurred in the Defence of *Piſa*. But the Senators of the ſoundeſt

A. D. 1498.

Debates at *Venice*.

Judg-

A. D. 1498. Judgment, and greateſt Authority, were of a different Sentiment. They were grown weary of a tedious and expenſive War, deſpaired of preſerving *Bibiena*, and found it very difficult to ſend Succours to *Piſa*, or make any Diverſions to the Purpoſe, and the *Florentines* much ſtronger than they had imagined. They conſidered further that tho' a War againſt the Duke of *Milan* was reckoned an eaſy Taſk, yet the King of *France* had not as yet come to an Agreement with the King of the *Romans*; and many other Accidents might happen to retard his Motions. That tho' he ſhould ſurmount all his preſent Difficulties, and declare War, yet War is ſtill ſubject to Caſualties, and many great and unforeſeen Dangers might ariſe in the Proſecution. But what gave them moſt Concern, and mightily alarmed their Fears, was the Report of the vaſt Preparations making by *Bajazet*, both by Sea and Land, for invading their Dominions in *Greece*. On this Conſideration they thought it of the laſt Importance to make an End of this War, and not for the Sake of adhering too pertinaciouſly to

to the Faith of a political Promiſe continue to labour under a Load of Calamities. *A. D.* 1498.

Since the reſuming of the Treaty of *Ferrara* theſe laſt mentioned prudent Senators, foreſeeing it would be neceſſary to give up ſome Points, which might be ſtrongly controverted, had very wiſely prevailed with the Council of the *Pregadi* to intruſt the Council of *Ten* with full Power and ample Authority to remove all Difficulties on this Head. This Council of *Ten* conſiſted of choſen Senators of ſingular Gravity and Prudence, and moſtly of the pacific Strain, who were for an Accommodation with the *Florentines*. But now ſince the Matter was to receive its full Determination at *Venice*, they deſpaired of bringing the Council of the *Pregadi* to agree to the Articles that had been drawn up at *Ferrara*; and on the other hand they were willing to avoid the Cenſure of the Public, which they were ſure to incur by determining the Affair themſelves. They reſolved therefore that the whole ſhould be left to the Arbitration of the Duke of *Ferrara*, with an Intent that all the Blame of the Deciſion might be thrown

A. D. 1498. thrown on the Umpire, promiſing themſelves that a Judgment pronounced by a Perſon to whom both Parties had referred the Controverſy, would be ſooner ratified than what might be concluded in a Treaty between the contending Powers. The Reſult was, that after ſome Days ſpent in Diſputes, the Duke of *Milan* threatening the *Florentines* immediately to recall his Troops from *Tuſcany*, they thought it beſt to heſitate no longer, but ſubmitted to an Arbitration, and both Parties inveſted the Duke with an abſolute Authority, for the Space of Eight Days, to decide and put an End to all their Differences. *Ercole*, after much Diſcuſſion, and mature Deliberation, on the 6th of *April* gave his Sentence and Determination, by which it was decreed that in Eight Days next enſuing all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*: That on *St. Mark*'s Day next at fartheſt, the Allies of both the *Piſans* and the *Florentines* ſhould withdraw their Troops out of *Tuſcany* into their own Territories; and particularly that the *Venetians* ſhould recall all their Forces

Duke of *Ferrara* made Umpire.

His Determination.

Forces from *Piſa* and its Territory, and evacuate *Bibiena*, with all other Places taken from the *Florentines*; who on their part were to grant a full Amneſty to the Inhabitants of *Bibiena* for all Offences: That in Conſideration of the Charges incurred by the *Venetians*, which they eſtimated at no leſs than Eight Hundred Thouſand Ducats, the *Florentines* ſhould pay them Fifteen Thouſand Ducats yearly for the Term of Twelve Years: That the *Piſans* ſhould have full Power and free Liberty to exerciſe any Trade or Calling both by Land and Sea: That they ſhould continue in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles of *Piſa* and other Places which they held at the Time of paſſing this Deciſion, and might garriſon them with *Piſans*, or Foreigners, provided they were not of any State ſuſpected by the *Florentines*: That theſe Garriſons ſhould be paid out of the Taxes raiſed by the *Florentines* on the *Piſans*; but that no larger Sums ſhould be levied, nor more ſtanding Troops maintained, than was practiſed before the Rebellion: That the *Piſans* ſhould be permitted to demoliſh all the

A. D. 1498.

Articles concerning the *Piſans*.

A. D. 1498. Caſtles and fortified Places in their Territory, which they had taken from the *Florentines* while they were under the Protection of the *Venetians:* That in *Piſa* the Chief Juſtice in Civil Caſes ſhould be a Foreigner, elected by the *Piſans* themſelves out of a Country not obnoxious to the *Florentines*; and that a Juſtice commiſſioned by the *Florentines* might have Power to receive Appeals, but not in criminal Caſes where Death, Baniſhment or Confiſcation, were concerned, without the Preſence of an Aſſiſtant Juſtice or Aſſeſſor, commiſſioned by *Ercole* or his Succeſſors, to be elected by him or them out of Five Civilians of the Dutchy of *Ferrara* nominated by the *Piſans:* That all Goods moveable and immoveable ſhould be reſtored on both Sides, but without any Allowance for Intereſt. In all other Caſes the *Florentines* might aſſert their Rights in the *Piſan*, and the *Piſans* were to engage for the future not to take up Arms againſt the *Florentines* on any Account whatſoever.

As ſoon as this Decree or Sentence of

of the Duke was publiſhed in *Venice* the whole Town was in an Uproar, and both the Nobleſſe and the Plebeians were full of nothing but Invectives againſt *Ercole*, and the chief Managers of the Treaty *. They exclaimed at the Indignity and Reproach caſt upon the Republic, for abandoning the *Piſans* after ſo ſolemn an Engagement to defend them. They complained alſo that the Sums ſettled for the Reimburſement of their Expences bore no Proportion to their juſt Demand. *A. D.* 1499. *Venetians* diſcontented at the Decree

BUT the Diſappointment and Diſtreſs of the *Piſan* Ambaſſadors, and the Reſentment of that People were inexpreſſible. They had been all this Time artfully made to expect that the Liberty of their Country ſhould be preſerved, and that not only their whole Territory reſtored, but that the important Port of *Livorno* would probably be aſſigned them; whereas this inauſpicious Decree not only extinguiſhed

* The *Venetians* were ſo exaſperated by this Determination, that they hooted the Duke whenever he appeared, and upbraided him with a Breach of Truſt. So hard was it to ſatisfy all Parties, that not one of the three concerned in this Deciſion was pleaſed. *Bembo*.

A. D. 1498. guiſhed all future Expectations, but deprived them of what little they had left valuable. They filled *Venice* with loud Complaints of the Injuſtice done them, and recounted to every one they met the advantageous Offers they had refuſed from Princes and States, relying on the Faith of the *Venetians:* That they had often rejected better Terms offered them by the *Florentines* themſelves; and that they were betrayed and made a Sacrifice by thoſe in whom they had repoſed an entire Confidence; that they were left deſtitute, without any Proviſion made for their Safety, except in outward Shew, and vain Pretence. For what Security could they expect for their Liberties when the *Florentines* ſhall have conſtituted Magiſtrates, modelled the Government after their own Mind, and engroſſed all the Commerce into the Hands of their own Merchants? Or what ſhould hinder that, when the Peaſantry, which had been the Sinews of their Defence, ſhould be returned to their Labour, they might not make themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Lives and Fortunes of the Citizens, eſpecially

cially as the Guard of the City Gates is to be in their Hands? And of what Uſe is it with regard to their Safety, to have the Forts in their Poſſeſſion, where the Garriſons are to be paid by the *Florentines*, eſpecially as it was not permitted them to keep larger Garriſons in ſo critical a Juncture than were kept in Times of profound Peace? The Article of Indemnity was a meer Formality; for of what Uſe would it be to them not to pay the Intereſt when the Merchandiſe and Moveables they had ſeized at the Time of the Revolution amounted to more than the Value of all their preſent Effects, which on Examination would be declared forfeited, and then ſeized, and not being found ſufficient to anſwer the Demand, the Owner becomes liable to be arreſted and hurried to a Goal. *A. D.* 1499.

Explanatory Addition thought neceſſary.

SOME eminent Perſons of the *Venetian* Senate, of a pacific Temper, who were willing to ſee an End of all Diſcontents and Murmurings, tho' the Eight Days of the Compromiſe were elapſed, induced *Ercole*, who thought himſelf in

A. D. 1499. Danger from the incenſed Populace, to add an explanatory Supplement to his Decree, which he did without the Knowledge of the *Florentine* Plenipotentiaries. By this he declared that under the Name of Forts were comprehended the Gates of the City of *Piſa*, and of all thoſe Towns that had Citadels; and that a certain Sum of Money ſhould be allowed the *Piſans* out of the Revenues of their State for the Payment of the Garriſons, Governors, and Aſſeſſors: That the Eccleſiaſtical State, with thoſe of *Mantoua*, *Ferrara*, and *Bologna* ſhould be deemed not obnoxious: As to the Reſtitution of Moveables, what had paſſed on that Account ſhould be buried in Oblivion: That the *Piſans* ſhould themſelves nominate a Judge Aſſeſſor from the Places not obnoxious; and that the *Florentine* Chief Juſtice ſhould not pronounce Sentence on any criminal Caſe, tho' never ſo trivial, without the Aſſeſſor: That the *Piſans* were to be well uſed by the *Florentines*, and treated with that Diſtinction which is uſually paid to Citizens of the other noble Towns in *Italy*; and that they ſhould

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ſhould not be burthened with new Taxes. A. D. 1499.

THOSE that procured this Explanation did not care whether it took Effect or not; it was purely intended to allay the Heats occaſioned by the Clamours of the *Piſan* Ambaſſadors; and was drawn in ſuch Terms, and conſiſted of ſuch Limitations and Reſtrictions as the Authors thought moſt proper to juſtify themſelves in the Council of the Pregadi, by making it appear, that if they had not obtained an entire Liberty for the *Piſans*, they had at leaſt provided for their Safety and Wellbeing. When therefore the Decree with the Explanation came to be laid before the Pregadi, after ſeveral Debates, it was reſolved that in conſideration of the Condition of the preſent Times, the Difficulties that would attend a Continuation of the Defence of *Piſa*, and above all the formidable Power of the *Turk*, the aboveſaid Decree and Explanation ſhould ſtand unratified by any public Sanction; but, what is more to the Purpoſe in all Affairs, they took care to have

A. D. 1498. it executed. For they ordered that all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe after Eight Days, and recalled all their Forces from *Tuſcany* at the Time mentioned in the Decree, many among the Senators wiſhing *Piſa* in the Poſſeſſion of the *Florentines*, rather than to ſee it fall into the Hands of *Lodovico*.

WHEN the Decree was brought to *Florence*, there appeared no leſs Agitation in the Minds of that People than had been at *Venice*: It was thought a mighty Grievance that the *Florentines* ſhould be bound to make good any part of the Charges their Enemies had incurred for the Defence of Rebels, eſpecially as all that was procured for them was no more than to be Sovereigns in Name, ſince the Citadels and Fortifications were to be left in the Hands of the *Piſans*. The Adminiſtration of Juſtice in criminal Caſes, which was a great Part of the Prerogative, and moſt neceſſary for the Preſervation of a State, was decreed to be out of their Power, and intruſted in the Hands of Strangers. But after all their Murmurings and

and Complaints of thoſe and other Grievances, they were at laſt obliged, by the ſame Threats which *Lodovico* had before uſed to compel them to agree to an Arbitration, to ſubmit, in hopes that in proceſs of Time, by good Policy, and treating the *Piſans* with more Humanity, they might reſtore their Authority and reeſtabliſh their Affairs, and ſo ratified the Decree, but not the Explanation, which had not yet reached them. *A. D.* 1499. Yet ratify it.

BUT the Fears, Frights, Perplexity, Indignation and Jealouſy of the *Piſans* at this Decree were inexpreſſible. Enraged at the *Venetians*, and ſuſpecting farther Treachery from them, they immediately turned their Forces out of their Forts and Gates, nor would they permit them to remain in their City. For many Days it was debated whether the Decree ſhould be accepted or rejected. They were terrified at the Thoughts of their being abandoned, and left deſtitute, without any friendly Power to ſupport them; but on the other hand their Hatred to the *Florentines* was invincible, and they deſpaired *Piſans exaſperated at the Decree.*

A. D. 1498. deſpaired of being forgiven the Injuries, Trouble and Expence they had occaſioned them, and the Hazard to which they had expoſed them of loſing their own Liberty. In this Perplexity the Duke of *Milan* preſſed them to ſubmit, offering himſelf to become a Mediator for their obtaining more advantageous Terms. But the *Piſans* being willing to try whether that Duke retained the ſame Ambition he formerly had of becoming Maſter of *Piſa*, and being diſpoſed in that Caſe freely to come under his Dominion, ſent Ambaſſadors to him to tender their Obedience; but it was to no Purpoſe. After great Perplexity they came at laſt to a Reſolution to ſuffer the laſt Extremity rather than return under the *Florentine* Yoke, to which they were ſecretly encouraged by the *Genoeſe*, *Luccheſe*, and *Pandolfo Petrucci*. *Lodovico* was ſo noted for his double Dealing, that the *Florentines* ſuſpected him, tho' he had now in reality relinquiſhed all Deſigns upon *Piſa*; and indeed Sincerity is never expected from a Perſon who bears the Character of a Diſſembler, and has been once known to circum-

circumvent thoſe he had to deal with. The *Florentines* then being deprived of all Hopes of recovering *Piſa* by Treaty, imagined that they had now a very fair Opportunity of reducing it to their Obedience by Force of Arms. For this End they ſent Orders to *Vitelli* to return into the *Piſan*, and applied themſelves to get in readineſs all the Proviſions that General required for that Enterprize. *A. D.* 1499.

As to the Duke of *Milan*, the Situation of his Affairs ſeemed to decline every Day. All the Propenſity he had ſhewn to pleaſe the *Venetians* in the late Treaty did not in the leaſt remove their Reſentment; for they had reſolved on his Ruin, as much out of a Spirit of Revenge as from a Proſpect of Profit. *Maximilian* did not appear ſo ready to enter into a War with *France*, as he was in demanding Money of the Duke; and, contrary to his Engagements, prolonged the Truce for the whole enſuing Month of *Auguſt*, leaving him to expect no more Advantage from his Succour than he had reaped from his late Diverſion. For he entered

A. D. 1499. entered into the League of *Suabia** againſt the *Swiſs*, who for ſeveral Reaſons had been declared Enemies of the Empire. This War was proſecuted with great Animoſity and Bloodſhed on both Sides; ſo that *Lodovico* loſt all Hopes of Aſſiſtance from that Quarter, at leaſt till *Maximilian* ſhould put an End to that War either by Treaty or Conqueſt. But as that Prince had given him Aſſurance that he would never make Peace with *France* or *Switzerland* without a Regard to his Security, he found himſelf under a Neceſſity of ſending him Supplies of Money.

Maximilian enters into the *Swabian* League.

King of *France* prepares for his *Italian* Expedition.

THE King of *France* was wiſe enough to take his Meaſures from the preſent Juncture of Affairs, and relying on the Aſſiſtance of the Pope and *Venetians*, he rejected the Advice of thoſe of his Council, who on account of his late Inauguration, and the Scarcity of Money, would have perſuaded him to defer his Ex-

* This War of *Maximilian* with the *Swiſs* is deſcribed by *Arrigo Mutio* and *Naucleto*, and is called *The Grand War*, which coſt the Lives of Thirty Thouſand Men; but the *Swiſs* ſuffered moſt.

Expedition againſt *Milan* to the next Year. *Lewis* flattered himſelf that the War could not laſt many Months, and conſequently did not require vaſt Sums. The Preparations therefore were carried on with all Diligence, and Methods were found out to furniſh the *Swiſs* underhand with a Supply of Money, to enable them to keep *Maximilian* employed. A. D. 1499.

LODOVICO by this Time being convinced that this dreadful War was approaching, uſed all his Endeavours to procure the Aſſiſtance of ſome potent State in ſo imminent a Danger. He found it impoſſible to pacify the *Venetians*, and the King of *Spain*, tho' often ſollicited, unconcerned for his Preſervation. In order therefore to loſe no Time while he waited the Succeſs of a Negotiation with other Powers, he deputed *Galeazzo Viſconti* to *Maximilian* and the *Swiſs*, to offer his Mediation for a Peace between them. He had received Information that the Pope had not ſucceeded in procuring *Charlotta* for his Son: For that Princeſs, either influenced by paternal Love or *Lodovico's* Conſternation.

Au-

A. D. 1499. Authority, or privately admoniſhed by the King of *France*, who affected to appear zealous for the Match, obſtinately refuſed to marry *Valentino*, but on condition that *Federigo* ſhould at the ſame Time be eſtabliſhed in his lawful Rights of Inheritance, for which that Prince offered to pay an annual Tribute, beſides other Advantages to the Crown of *France*. *Lodovico* was not without Hopes that this mortifying Repulſe might operate on *Alexander*, and detach him from the *French* Intereſt. He therefore thought fit to propoſe an Alliance with the Pope; in conjunction with *Federigo* and the *Florentines*, engaging that all the confederated Powers ſhould aſſiſt his Holineſs in reducing the Vicars in *Romagna*, and furniſh him with a ſufficient Sum of Money to purchaſe a Sovereignty for his Son. *Alexander* at firſt ſeemed to liſten to theſe Propoſals; but finding they were groundleſs, and that he had Reaſon to expect greater Advantages from the *French* King, during the turbulent and calamitous Seaſon, which now ſeemed approaching, when *Italy* was to be overſpread with foreign Armies,

Charlotta refuſes Valentino.

Armies, renounced all Thoughts of *Charlotta*, and gave his Conſent for the Nuptials of his Son with the Daughter of M. *D' Albret*, a Perſon of the Blood Royal, in Poſſeſſion of a large Eſtate, and not inferior to any Nobleman in the Kingdom of *France*. *A. D.* 1499.

LODOVICO, after trying all manner of Ways to reconcile the *Venetians*, finding them implacable, thought it neceſſary, by means of proper Perſons, and in concert with *Federigo*, to make Application privately to the *Turk*. *Sforza* was well ſatisfied that if *Bajazet*, who was already making ſuch vaſt Preparations, ſhould turn his Arms againſt the *Venetians*, he could not have much to fear from their Alliance with *France*. He alſo offered the *Florentines* what Aſſiſtance they might think neceſſary for reducing *Piſa*, on condition they would engage to aſſiſt him with Three Hundred Men at Arms and Two Thouſand Foot for the Preſervation of his Dominions. On the other hand the *French* King demanded of the *Florentines* a Regiment of Five Hundred Men at *Lodovico craves Aid of the Turk*; and of the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1499. at Arms, for a Year's Service, on which Conſideration he paſſed his royal Word that, after the Reduction of *Milan*, he would aſſiſt them with One Thouſand Lances for a Year, and that he would conclude no Treaty with *Lodovico* till they were put in full Poſſeſſion of *Piſa* and its Territory. He would moreover engage that the Pope and *Venetians* ſhould both move to their Aſſiſtance, if they ſhould happen to be invaded before the Dutchy of *Milan* was ſubdued.

Propoſals of Lewis to the Florentines.

Florentines in Suſpenſe.

THESE different Propoſals kept the *Florentines* in great Suſpenſe, not only on account of the Difficulties that would attend a Reſolution on either Side, but with regard to the different Parties in the Republic. As *Lodovico* demanded no Aſſiſtance till the War of *Piſa* was brought to a Period, his Succour was much ſurer, and more ready at hand, than what was offered by *France*, which indeed might be reckoned of no Conſequence; for as the *Piſans* were unſupported, they expected to reduce them before the End of the Summer; and beſides it ſeemed ungrateful

grateful to abandon *Lodovico*, whoſe preſent Danger was owing to his confederating with them againſt the *Venetians*, which provoked that Republic to enter into an Alliance with *France*. Not a few alſo were cautious of irritating the Duke of *Milan*, being ſenſible that he had it in his Power to lay ſeveral ſtumbling Blocks that might obſtruct or retard their Enterprize upon *Piſa*. A. D. 1499.

On the other hand it came to be conſidered, that *Lodovico* was utterly incapable of reſiſting the Power of *France* ſupported by the *Venetians*; for which Reaſon it might be dangerous to make an Enemy of a Prince, who very probably would, in a few Months, traverſe all *Italy* with an irreſiſtible Army. Then as to the Aſſiſtance they had received from *Lodovico*, allowing it to have been the Cauſe of his preſent perilous Situation, yet the Memory of his Benefits was eaſily effaced by calling to Mind the many Injuries he had done them. For the very Rebellion of the *Piſans* was owing to his ambitious Deſire of making himſelf Maſter of that

A. D. 1499. State; and during the Revolt he had not only himſelf protected, but alſo excited other Powers to aſſiſt the Rebels. Upon the whole it was manifeſt that his Injuries much outweighed his Favours, and that thoſe very Favours were beſtowed not out of any good Will to them, but from a Spirit of Revenge on thoſe Interlopers the *Venetians*, who had reaped the Fruits of his Labours, and ſnatched the Prey out of his Mouth. After much Deliberation, and duly weighing the Reaſons that offered on both Sides, the *Florentines* at length concluded on a Neutrality, and in the mean time to purſue their Scheme againſt *Piſa*, for which they imagined their own Force was ſufficient. But as they were not without ſome Apprehenſions from *Lodovico*, who might poſſibly give them ſome Trouble in their Undertaking, they thought beſt to play his own Tricks upon himſelf, and amuſe him with fair Words. After they had thus held him ſome time in ſuſpenſe, without returning a direct Anſwer, at laſt they ordered one of their Secretaries to acquaint him, that they found indeed that the Sentiments

Florentines reſolve to ſtand neuter.

Politic Anſwer of the *Florentines* to *Lodovico.*

of

of the Republic and of his Highneſs were the ſame with regard to the End, and that they only differed as to the Means: That it was reſolved, after the Reduction of *Piſa*, to ſend him the Succours he had demanded; but that it was not ſafe to enter into a Treaty, which was impracticable in a republican Government without entruſting the Affair in many Hands, and therefore could not be conducted with due Secreſy; and if it ſhould take Air, the King of *France* might take Offence, and perhaps induce the Pope and *Venetians* to lend Aſſiſtance to the *Piſans*, which would render a Treaty prejudicial to themſelves, and of no Service to him; for if they failed in their Enterprize againſt *Piſa*, they were not obliged, according to his own Propoſals, nor indeed in a Condition, to lend him any Succours. But they aſſured him that he might depend on their Aſſiſtance whenever it lay in their Power to afford it, and reſt ſatisfied with this Promiſe, which was given him with the Approbation of their leading Men, on whoſe Authority depended all the Deliberations of the Republic, A. D. 1499.

A. D. 1499. and was therefore equivalent to ſigned Articles. They offered at the ſame time to come into his own Terms, if he could find any other Method that would ſecure them from thoſe Inconveniences which they had laid before him. This artful and evaſive Anſwer, tho' coloured over with ſuch ſpecious Reaſons, as might perhaps be ſatisfactory to a Perſon of ordinary Penetration, was yet too looſe and indefinitive to paſs itſelf upon *Lodovico*, who eaſily ſaw through it, and concluded, from their Refuſal to accept of his Aſſiſtance, that no Streſs was to be laid on the *Florentines*.

Lodovico In Diſtreſs. THE Duke was now in the utmoſt Perplexity, finding himſelf diſappointed in all his Expectations. He could have no firm Reliance on *Maximilian*, who was of an inconſtant Temper, and beſides at War with the *Swiſs*; and he had but little Dependance on *Federigo*, who had promiſed him Four Hundred Lances and One Thouſand Foot under *Proſpero Colonna*, and it was indeed his Intereſt to aſſiſt him; but he knew that Prince was but

but ſlow in his Motions, and there was beſides Reaſon to think that he had no Troops to ſpare. As for the Duke of *Ferrara*, his Father-in-law, to whom he did not forget to make his Applications, after being firſt reproached with his Treachery, by which the Duke was forced to give up the Poleſine of *Rovigo*, he was told that it was by no means adviſable, but very dangerous for the Duke to act againſt the *Venetians*, becauſe his Dominions bordered on theirs, and they might at any time be at the Gates of *Ferrara*; it was his Intereſt therefore to maintain Peace with his Neighbours, and attend his domeſtic Affairs. *A. D.* 1499.

LODOVICO now ſaw himſelf neceſſitated to ſtand entirely upon his own Bottom, and therefore applied himſelf with the utmoſt Diligence to fortify *Anon*, *Novara*, and *Aleſſandria della Paglia*, which were the firſt Towns the *French* would meet with in their March to *Italy*. He reſolved to ſend *Galeazzo Sanſeverino* with the greateſt Part of his Forces that Way to oppoſe the *French*, and to employ *Lodovico* fortifies his frontier Towns.

A. D. 1499. the Remainder under the Marquis of *Mantoua* againſt the *Venetians*. But ſoon after, whether out of wrong Judgment or Avarice, or becauſe the Decrees of Heaven are unalterable, he changed this wiſe Diſpoſition. He had the Weakneſs to perſuade himſelf, that the *Venetians* would find their whole Strength inſufficient to defend themſelves againſt the mighty Power of the *Turk*, who had declared War againſt them both by Sea and Land, and would be in no Condition to give him any Diſturbance. In Complaiſance therefore to *Galeazzo*, who was diſguſted at the ſuperior Title of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, he was ſo impolitic as to diſoblige that General, by refuſing to pay him ſome old Arrears, and requiring ſuch Oaths and Securities as a Man of Honour knew not how to diſpenſe with. But he was ſoon made ſenſible of his Miſtake, when he obſerved the *Venetian* Troops daily increaſing in the *Breſcian*, in order to be in Readineſs to commence the War in Concert with the *French* on their Arrival. He then thought himſelf obliged to make Application once more

more to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was Father-in-Law to the Marquis of *Mantoua* as well as himſelf, for his Intereſt, in order to accommodate Matters with the Marquis. But the Danger increaſed faſter than thoſe Differences could be adjuſted; for the Duke of *Savoy* had ſigned a Treaty with *France*, and *French* Troops paſſed every Day through *Piedmont*, haſtening to their Rendevous in the Neighbourhood of *Aſti*. *Lodovico*'s Hopes in the mean time were daily diminiſhing; *Federigo*, either out of Indolence or Inability, had as yet ſent him no Reinforcement; and *Lewis*, by his Vigilance and Reſolution, had at once deprived him of all Expectations from the *Florentines*, who had promiſed the Duke to ſend him, after the Reduction of *Piſa*, *Pagolo Vitelli*, an Officer of high Reputation all over *Italy*. For as ſoon as the King was informed that the *Florentines* had ſent a Secretary to *Milan*, he upbraided their Ambaſſadors in ſuch high and threatening Terms, that the Republic thought it moſt adviſable to ſign a Treaty, by which they were engaged not A. D. 1499.

A. D. 1499. to assist the Duke of *Milan*, without demanding any conditional Obligation on the King's Side.

Lodovico's Force. LODOVICO, leaving a small Number of Troops under Count *Gajazzo* on the *Venetian* Confines, ordered *Galeazzo*, with Sixteen Hundred Lances, Fifteen Hundred Horse, and Ten Thousand *Italian* and Five Hundred *German* Foot, to pass the *Po*, with an Intent to keep himself on the Defensive, and avoid coming to Action. All he regarded was to gain Time, especially on account of the Peace that was mediating by his Agent *Visconti* between *Maximilian* and the *Swiss*, which he expected every Day to hear concluded, and in consequence, according to Promise, the March of a powerful Army to his Assistance. And indeed this Peace was necessary for him, if for no other Reason than that it was impossible for him to raise more Soldiers nearer home, for so great were the Preparations and Motions on all Sides, as to drain the Country of all the Men fit for Service.

A. D. 1498.

No remarkable Accident happened before the Arrival of *Lewis de Ligni*, *Edward d'Aubigni*, and *Gianjacopo Trivulzio* with the Forces deſigned for the Expedition. The King was on the Road to *Lions*, and gave out that he ſhould paſs the *Alps* if it were neceſſary; yet he did not intend it, imagining his Generals ſufficiently qualified and provided to perform the Work without requiring his Preſence. When the whole *French* Army paſſed under Review, it was found to conſiſt of Two Thouſand Six Hundred Lances, Five Thouſand *Swiſs*, Four Thouſand *Gaſcons*, and Four Thouſand other *French*. On the 13th of *Auguſt* the Army arrived before *Arazzo*, a Caſtle ſituated on the Banks of the *Tanaro*, and took it in a very ſhort Time, tho' there were Five Hundred Men in Garriſon, which was owing to the briſk Fire of the Cannon, and no leſs to the Cowardice of the Defendants. From *Arazzo* they continued their March to *Anon*, ſituated on the high Road between *Aſti* and *Aleſſandria*, on the Banks alſo of the *Tanaro*. The Place was

Number of the *French* Army.

Arazzo taken.

A. D. 1499. was ſtrong by Nature, and had been newly fortified. *Sanſeverino*, who was encamped near *Aleſſandria*, on Advice of the Loſs of *Arazzo*, had deſigned to reinforce the Garriſon of *Anon*, which conſiſted of Seven Hundred newly raiſed Men, with ſome Companies of Veterans; but found it impracticable, becauſe the *French*, to prevent all Succour, had obtained Leave from the Marquis of *Monferrato* to place Troops in *Filizzano*, a Town between *Anon* and *Aleſſandria*. The raw Garriſon of *Anon* made but a poor Defence, the *French* having taken Poſſeſſion of the Suburbs. attacked the Town at Four Places, and carried it in Two Days, and afterwards the Caſtle, putting to the Sword all who had retired thither when the Town was taken.

Anon taken.

SANSEVERINO, in great Conſternation at the Rapidity of theſe Conqueſts, drew his Army within the Walls of *Aleſſandria*, alledging in Excuſe of his Conduct, that he had no Dependence on his Foot, and that the Country was diſaffected to the Duke of *Milan*. The

French

French emboldened by this Timidity, approached within Four Miles of *Aleſſandria*, A. D. 1499. and at the ſame Time made themſelves Maſters of *Valenza*, which was well provided with Men and Artillery, by the Treachery of the Governor *Donato Raffagnino*, a *Milaneſe* Gentleman, who was bribed by *Trivulzio*, and introduced the *French* through the Caſtle into the Town, where they killed and took the whole Garriſon; among the Priſoners was *Ottaviano*, a baſtard Brother of *Sanſeverino*. It is remarkable that this ſame Governor, Twenty Years before, had in the ſame Manner betrayed *Bona*, and her Son *Giovanni Galeazzo*, by giving up to *Lodovico* a Gate of *Tortona*, on the ſame Day in the Year that he admitted the *French* into *Valenza*. The *French* now carried all before them like a Torrent, and took *Baſignano*, *Voghiera*, *Caſtelnuovo*, and *Ponte Corono* without Reſiſtance; and a few Days after the important Town and Citadel of *Tortona*, the Governor *Antonmaria Pallavicino*, with his Garriſon, retiring over the *Po* without ſtanding an Aſſault.

THIS

A. D. 1499. THIS rapid Progreſs of the Enemy terribly alarmed *Lodovico Sforza*, who ſeeing his Sovereignty, like a weather-beaten Edifice, ſinking into Ruins, and, as it often happens in great and ſudden Calamities, deprived at once of Prudence and Reſolution, had recourſe to thoſe Expedients which are the common Refuge of Deſpair, but which ſerve only to diſcover the Greatneſs of the Danger, without adminiſtering any Comfort or Relief. He ordered a Liſt to be taken of all the Men in the City of *Milan*, who were capable of bearing Arms, then ſummoned a general Aſſembly of the Inhabitants, to whom he was become odious on account of the heavy Taxes, and in their Preſence aboliſhed ſeveral of thoſe Duties that were moſt oppreſſive; after which, with a Countenance that betrayed much Anxiety, he thus addreſſed the People.

Lodovico's Speech to the People of Milan. "If the good People of *Milan*, he ſaid, found themſelves overcharged with Taxes, he truſted that they would not aſcribe it to his natural Diſpoſition, or to

a covetous Deſire of accumulating Riches, but to the Condition of the Times, and the Dangers that ſurrounded *Italy*, firſt from the Ambition of the *Venetians*, and afterwards from the Paſſage of King *Charles*: That he was forced to levy Money, to preſerve the Peace and Tranquillity of the Dutchy, and be prepared againſt thoſe who would otherwiſe have invaded him. He therefore thought he could no way better merit of his People, than by averting a War, which is always attended by a Train of Calamities. That this Conduct had its deſired Effect, as the Event plainly proved, ſince, for ſo long a Term of Years under his Government, they had enjoyed Peace and Quietneſs, which had enabled them to grow rich, and augment the Splendor and Magnificence of their City beyond all others; witneſs the ſtately Structures, the public Spectacles, the great Increaſe of Artificers and other Inhabitants, not only in *Milan*, but over the whole Dutchy, to the no ſmall Envy and Amazement of all the other States of *Italy*. He deſired them to reflect how he had not governed

A. D. 1499.

them

A. D. 1499. them with Cruelty and Rigor, but with Humanity and Mildneſs: That he alone, among all the Princes of that Age, ſparing no Pains to make his Subjects eaſy, had, on certain appointed Days, admitted promiſcuouſly to his Preſence all who deſired it, and adminiſtred ſummary and impartial Juſtice. He put them in Mind of his Father's Merits, of his Beneficence and good Nature; how he had governed them more like Children than Subjects. He then laid before them the Haughtineſs and Inſolence of the *French*, who, were they once in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy, would doubtleſs behave, as they did in former times, when they were ſettled in *Lombardy*, drive out the old Inhabitants, and replace them with People of their own Country. He therefore thought it his Duty to forewarn them, that out of Dread and Abhorrence of ſuch barbarous and arbitrary Proceedings, they might all as one Man unite in the Defence of their Lives and Fortunes: That there could be no Doubt but that if they made a reſolute Stand againſt the firſt Shock, which however ſharp would be but ſhort, their Defence

fence afterwards would become eaſier every Day: For it was the Nature of the *French* to attack with Fury, and ſpend their Spirits at the firſt Charge, but to remit of their Ardor, and be diſmayed at a vigorous Repulſe. That he expected vaſt Succours from *Germany* that were ready to march under the King of the *Romans*, who had compoſed his Differences with the *Swiſs*; and that he had received Advice that *Proſpero Colonna* was already on his March from *Naples* with a Body of Auxiliaries, and had Reaſon to believe that the Marquis of *Mantoua*, with whom he was reconciled, had by this time entered the *Cremoneſe* with Three Hundred Men at Arms. That if with all theſe Hopes and Encouragements the Reſolution and Fidelity of his People would but heartily concur, he ſhould be under no Apprehenſions of his Enemies, not even tho' he were to encounter the whole Power of *France*." This Speech drew Attention, but had no other Effect on the Aſſembly. A. D. 1499.

LODOVICO was reſolved to make his greateſt

A. D. 1499. greateſt Efforts againſt the *French*, without giving himſelf much Concern about the *Venetians*, who had already entered the *Ghiaradadda*, and taken *Caravaggio* and other Towns near the *Adda*. Purſuant to this Reſolution he remanded Count *Gajazzo* with the beſt Part of his Troops from the Frontiers on that Side to *Pavia*, with Orders to join *Galeazzo* for the Defence of *Alexandria*. But all Precaution was now uſeleſs, and his Ruin was viſibly approaching from all Quarters: For *Gajazzo* ungratefully forgetting the innumerable Favours beſtowed on himſelf and his Family by *Lodovico*, had already treated and come to an Agreement with the *French*, being piqued, it ſeems, at the Preference of *Galeazzo*, his younger Brother, and a younger Soldier, in the Command of the Army, and at his being diſtinguiſhed the firſt in the Diſtribution of Favours and Honours. It was reported that the Duke had ſome time before been appriſed of the intended Treachery; and that, after a ſmall Pauſe, he anſwered the Informer, with a Sigh, that he could not believe ſo much Ingratitude; but, if

Lodovico bends his main Strength againſt the *French*.

Gajazzo's Treachery.

it

it were true, he did not ſee how it could be prevented, nor knew in whom he could confide for the future, if his moſt intimate Friends, whom he had loaded with Benefits, could betray him; adding, that he could not but think it a greater Misfortune, and beſides more dangerous, to deprive himſelf, on a vain Suſpicion, of the Services of a faithful Servant, than, by an uncautious Credulity, to truſt his Affairs in the Hands of ſuch as were of dubious Fidelity. A. D. 1499.

COUNT GAJAZZO had ordered a Bridge to be laid over the *Po*, over which he was to paſs and join his Brother. But as he never intended this Conjunction, he artfully retarded the finiſhing of this Bridge, and when it was finiſhed ſtill found ſome Pretence for delaying his Paſſage. It was now Two Days ſince the *French* had opened the Trenches before *Aleſſandria*, and their Batteries had fired very briſkly. *Galeazzo*, who had Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, the ſame Number of light Horſe, and Three Thouſand Foot in Garriſon, on the Third

A. D. 1499. Day of the Siege in the Evening, without communicating his Reſolution to any Officer except *Lucio Malvezzo*, accompanied by a Party of Horſe, deſerted his Charge at *Alexandria*, and went off loaded with the Infamy due to ſo baſe a Treachery; and leaving to the World juſt Reaſon to reflect on the Weakneſs of *Lodovico*'s Judgment in putting ſuch a Man at the Head of his Forces. This infamous Example of *Galeazzo* is a clear Proof that there is a very great Difference between managing a fine Courſer, and running at Tilts and Tournaments with heavy Lances (Exerciſes in which *Galeazzo* had no ſuperior) and diſcharging the Office of a General. The ſame ought to be a Warning to all Sovereigns not to deceive themſelves in their Choice of Miniſters to be employed in Places of Truſt, by preferring them on account of private Love and Affection, rather than of known Virtue and Merit.

As ſoon as it was divulged that *Galeazzo* had taken his Flight, the whole City of *Aleſſandria* was in an Uproar, ſome fled,

fled, ſome hid themſelves, and others wandered about in Confuſion. The *French* took Advantage of this Diſorder, and entered the Town by break of Day, ſtripping the Soldiers that came in their Way, and then plundered the Houſes. *A. D.* 1499. *Aleſſandria* taken and plundered.

SOME ſaid that *Galeazzo* had received Letters under the Hand and Seal of *Lodovico*, with Orders to abandon *Aleſſandria*, and march with all his Troops directly to *Milan*, where the People began to be tumultous: Others affirmed that whatever was the Contents, they were forged by Count *Gajazzo*, to give the *French* an Opportunity of getting Poſſeſſion of *Aleſſandria*. *Galeazzo* uſed afterwards to ſhew theſe Letters in his own Vindication, by which it appeared, that he was commiſſioned to come away directly, and leave the Army to all Hazards, tho' he might think it practicable to conduct it into a Place of Safety. Their Authenticity however is not ſo unqueſtionable, as it is that if *Galeazzo* had acted the Part of an able and reſolute General, he might, with the Forces he commanded, have eaſily defended *Aleſſandria*, as well as moſt of

A. D. 1499. the Places on that Side of the *Po*, and might even have reaped ſome Advantage. For it happened that, one Day after Part of the *French* Army had paſſed the *Bornia*, there fell ſo heavy a Rain, that they were for a long time confined between the *Bornia* and the *Tanaro* without a Poſſibility of returning to their Camp. Yet, when ſo fair an Opportunity offered, and tho' the General had Advice that a Party of his light Horſe had ſallied by the Bridge over the *Tanaro*, that joins the City to the Suburbs, and put to flight the firſt Squadron * of the Enemy, yet he wanted Courage to engage them.

Pavia ſubmits. THE Loſs of *Aleſſandria* put the whole Dutchy in a Conſternation, which was every Day increaſed by ſome new Misfortune. For as ſoon as the *French* had paſſed the *Po*, and encamped at *Mortara*, *Pavia* declared for them. On the other Side, the *Venetians*, after taking *Caravaggio*, paſſed the *Adda* on a Bridge of Boats, and made Excurſions as far as *Lodi*.

* The *Italians* uſe the Word *Squadron* to ſignify a Body of Foot as well as of Horſe.

Lodi. The whole *Milaneſe* was now in a Ferment, and the People every where tumultous; nor was the Confuſion leſs in the Capital than in other Places. The whole City took up Arms, and very little Reſpect was ſhewn to the Sovereign. For his firſt Treaſurer, *Antonio Landriano*, who had attended him to the Caſtle, was, on his Return, aſſaſſinated, in the open Streets, at Noonday; either out of ſome private Revenge, or by Orders of thoſe who wanted a Revolution *. This audacious Fact made *Lodovico* very apprehenſive for his own Safety; wherefore miſtruſting any other Means to ſecure himſelf, he reſolved to leave the Caſtle well provided, and retire with his Family into *Germany*, both to avoid the preſent Danger, and to ſollicit *Maximilian*, who had made Peace with the *Swiſs*, or was on the Point of doing it, for his Protection and Aſſiſtance.

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Landriano murthered

* *Landriano* was aſſaſſinated by *Simone Rigone* at the Head of Twelve Horſemen, who gave him Three Wounds, of which he died Two Days after. During his Illneſs *Lodovico* ſent Cardinal *Sanſeverino* and his own Brother to viſit him. The Death of this great Man was the principal Cauſe of the Ruin of the Dutchy. *Coria*.

A. D. 1499.

In purſuance of this Reſolution he immediately ſent away his Children, * accompanied by the Cardinals *Sanſeverino* and *Aſcanio Sforza*, which laſt had a few Days before arrived from *Rome* to aſſiſt his Brother with his Counſel. With the ſame Company he alſo entruſted his Treaſure, which was very much diminiſhed of its uſual Bulk; it being well known that Eight Years before, when the Duke, out of Oſtentation, made a Show of it to the foreign Miniſters, it was eſtimated, in Money, Gold and Silver Plate, not reckoning the coſtly Jewels, at a Million and Half of Ducats; whereas now it was thought not to exceed Two Hundred Thouſand.

Lodovico ſends away his Children.

After the Departure of his Children he conſtituted *Bernardino da Corte* of *Pavia* Governor of the Caſtle of *Milan*, contrary to the Advice of his Friends, and of his Brother *Aſcanio*, who offered himſelf to undertake that Charge. But he thought

* He made the People believe that he ſent his Children to meet *Maximilian*. *Giovio*.

thought none more faithful, or ſo proper for that important Truſt, as a Perſon who had been his Pupil, and educated under his Tuition. He left in Garriſon Three Thouſand Foot under Officers of approved Fidelity, with Proviſions of Victuals, Money, and military Stores, ſufficient for ſeveral Months. For the Management of Affairs in *Genoa* the Duke depended on *Agoſtino Adorno* the Governor, and on *Giovanni* his Brother, who had eſpouſed a *Sanſeverino*, to whom he entruſted the Guard of the Caſtelletto. He made Reſtitution to the *Boromei*, a Family of Quality of *Milan*, of *Anghiera* and *Arona*, with other Lands on the *Lago Maggiore*, which he had formerly ſeized into his Poſſeſſion; and, on Payment of Thirty Thouſand Ducats, he made a Surrender of the Dutchy of *Bari*, and the Principality of *Roſſano*, to his Nephew's Widow, *Iſabella* of *Arragon*, as a Settlement for her Dowry; tho' that Lady had refuſed to entruſt him with her little Son, whom he would have ſent with his own Children into *Germany*. Theſe Affairs being ſettled, and his Reign at an End in the

A. D. 1499.

A. D. 1499. City, he continued in the Caſtle as long as he could with Safety, and on the 2d of *September* ſet out with weeping Eyes for *Germany*, in Company of Cardinal *d'Eſte* and *Galeazzo Sanſeverino*, eſcorted by *Lucio Malvezzo*, with a ſtrong Party of Infantry and Men at Arms *. He had no ſooner ſet Foot out of the Caſtle, than Count *Gajazzo*, to give ſome Colour to his infamous Deſertion, preſented himſelf before him, and freely told him that ſince he abandoned his Dominions, he thought himſelf releaſed from his Service, and at Liberty to chuſe his Maſter; and immediately after he diſplayed the King's Commiſſion, and went over to the *French* with his Troops, which he had raiſed and ſubſiſted with *Lodovico*'s Money.

Lodovico flies into *Germany*.

Gajazzo deſerts to the *French*

Lodovico paſſed through *Como*, and left the Caſtle to the Guard of the Townſmen, from thence was rowed down to

* *Corio* ſays, *Lodovico* was eſcorted by a Body of Four Thouſand Men. *Bembo* writes that the *Milaneſe* gave him plain Notice that they intended to ſurrender themſelves to the *French* if he abandoned them; and that, at his Departure, he heard the People cry aloud 'a *Lewis*, a *Lewis*.'

to *Bellagio*, and landed near *Bornio*, his Way lying through all thoſe Places, where not long before, in the Midſt of his Glory, and at the Height of his Proſperity, he had made ſo magnificent an Appearance, when he entertained *Maximilian*, who at that Time had more the Appearance of an Officer in his own or the *Venetian* Service, than of a King of the *Romans*. He was purſued between *Como* and *Bornio* by the *French*, and by Count *Gajazzo*'s Troops, but got ſafe to *Tiranno*, where he left a Garriſon, and from thence to *Inſpruck*, where he expected to meet *Maximilian*. A. D. 1499. *Lodovico* arrives at *Inſpruck*.

As ſoon as *Lodovico* was retired * the *Milaneſe* ſent Deputies to the *French* Army, which was advanced within Six Miles of their City, and agreed to receive them within their Walls without any Capitulation, which they choſe to have ſettled on the King's Arrival, from whom, conſulting merely their own Intereſt, they expected to receive great Privileges and Ex- *Milan* receives the *French*.

* Four Days after *Lodovico*'s Departure the People of *Milan* cried out for the *French*, as we are told by *Bembo*.

A. D. 1499. Exemptions. The Example of *Milan* was followed by the whole Dutchy. The City of *Cremona*, ſurrounded by the *Venetians*, whoſe Government the People abhorred, would have ſurrendered alſo to the King; but *Lewis* being determined not to infringe the Articles of the Convention, that Place was obliged to ſubmit to the *Venetians*. *Genoa* ſhewed the ſame Propenſity to the *French*, the People, the *Adorni*, and *Giovanni Luigi del Fieſco*, ſtriving who ſhould have the principal Hand in delivering up their City to the King. And, to compleat *Lodovico*'s Misfortunes, who in the Space of Twenty Days had loſt ſo noble and powerful a State, the ungrateful and perfidious Governor of the Caſtle of *Milan*, whom his Maſter had ſelected as the moſt truſty Officer in his whole Army, on the 12th Day after the Duke's Departure gave up a Caſtle deemed impregnable, without firing a Gun. As a Reward of ſo meritorious an Act of Treachery, he was gratified with the Command of One Hundred Lances, and a Penſion for Life, beſides a very

Cremona ſubmits to the *Venetians*.

Genoa ſubmits to the *French*

Caſtle of *Milan* betray'd into their Hands.

very large Sum of Money, * with many other Privileges and Immunities. But ſo perfidious a Breach of Truſt was quite odious in the Eye of the World, and his Company was avoided even by the *French* Officers, as they would that of a wild Beaſt; ſo that meeting with nothing but Contempt and Reproaches wherever he went, he was at length overcome with Shame and Remorſe, the powerful and neverfailing Scourges of Villainy, and died in great Horror and Anguiſh of Spirit. Several other Officers in the Caſtle had a Share in the Guilt of this unworthy Governor, and amongſt the reſt *Filippo del Freſco*, another great Favourite of the Duke, who had bred him from a Child, and had left him in the Caſtle, as one in whom he could confide. But he, on the contrary, was ſo baſe-minded, and forgetful of his Duty and Obligations, that, inſtead of diſſuading the Governor from his traitorous Intentions, he ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by fine Promiſes, had a chief Hand in the

A. D. 1499.

* The Sum was Two Hundred and Fifty Pound of Gold. *Bembo.*

A. D. 1499. the Plot, assisted at the Conferences, and was one of those that treated with *Antonio Maria Pallavicini*, the *French* Commissary, about the Surrendry of the Castle.

King of *France* arrives at *Milan.*

LEWIS was at *Lions* when he received the News of this rapid Conquest, which in point of Time had exceeded his Expectation. He had no more to do but to set out with all Speed for *Milan*, where he was received with loud Acclamations, and immediately, to ingratiate himself, abolished several Duties. But as the common People are ever exorbitant in their Expectations, they were not contented, having persuaded themselves that they were not to have a single Tax left. The King bestowed Lands on several noble Families of the Dutchy, and particularly on *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, who, in reward of his good Services, had *Vigevano* assigned him, with many other Emoluments.

Proceedings of *Pagolo Vitelli.*

WHILE the *French* were thus successful in *Lombardy*, *Pagolo Vitelli* assembled his whole Force in order to reduce *Pisa*. He begun with the Siege of *Cascina*, which

which ſurrendered in Twenty-ſix Hours, tho' it was well provided with Soldiers and all things neceſſary, and had a good Ditch and other Fortifications: But the foreign Troops obſerving that the *Piſan* Soldiers were diſheartened at the Weakneſs of the Walls, and inclined to ſurrender, capitulated for themſelves, leaving the others, with the *Piſan* Commiſſary, to the Mercy of the Enemy. The Tower erected for the Defence of the Mouth of the *Arno* was delivered up at the firſt Summons of a Trumpet, and the Fort on the Lake was abandoned; ſo that the *Piſans* had now no other fortified Places, beſide their City, left in their Territory except the *Verrucola*, and the Tower of *Aſcanio*; and theſe it was not adviſable to attack, becauſe as they were contiguous to *Piſa*, they might be eaſily ſuccoured; and alſo on account of their Situation on the other Side of the *Arno*, and not of Conſequence enough to induce the Army to paſs the River. *A. D.* 1499.

THUS the *Piſans* had now nothing left to defend but their City, which was generally Siege of *Piſa*.

A. D. 1499. generally thought incapable of making any long Reſiſtance. But Men of Penetration, who conſidered the Strength of the Town, and the Number, Courage, and Deſperation of the Defenders, were of a different Opinion. For tho' the Number of foreign Troops was inconſiderable, being only thoſe who, with *Gurlino* of *Ravenna*, had remained after the *Venetians* had recalled their Forces, yet there was a vaſt Number of Inhabitants and Peaſants, that with Five Year's Experience were become brave Soldiers, and were determined to ſuffer the laſt Extremities rather than ſubmit to the *Florentines*. The Town had no Ditch, but the Walls were very thick, built after the antient Manner, with Stone, and ſo well cemented by the Goodneſs of the Mortar peculiar to that Country, as to reſiſt the Artillery much better than ordinary Walls, and give Time for repairing the Breaches. However, by the Advice of *Pagolo Vitelli* and *Rinuccio da Marciano*, who gave Hopes and expected that the Town would be taken in a Fortnight, the Siege was undertaken.

PAGOLO

A. D. 1499.

PAGOLO having got together Ten Thouſand Foot with a great Number of Horſe, and being ſupplied with all the Neceſſaries he required, on the laſt Day of *July* opened the Trenches, but not on that Side of the *Arno* which would have prevented any Succours coming from *Lucca*, as ſeveral Officers adviſed, but on the other Side of the River againſt the Fort of *Stampace*, the taking of which, he thought, would much facilitate his Enterpriſe, both on account of Conveniency of Situation for the more eaſy and ſafe Reception of Convoys of Proviſions from the Hills, and alſo becauſe he knew that the *Piſans*, not expecting an Attack on that Side, had neglected to make any new Fortifications, as they had done on the other. Having therefore erected a Battery of Twenty Cannon, he began to play on *Stampace*, and on a large Space of the Wall on each Side, reaching from *St. Antonino* in *Stampace* as far as the Sea Gate on the Bank of the *Arno*. On the other hand the *Piſans* worked Day and Night on the Breach, the Women aſſiſting

A. D. 1499. ing and ſhewing no leſs Reſolution than the Men, till they had raiſed a high and thick Rampart, with a wide Ditch before it, without being diſmayed at the Sight of thoſe who were wounded, many of them mortally, by the Enemy's Artillery, either by their own Careleſſneſs, or the Rebounding of the Balls while they were at Work. The Beſiegers too ſuffered no leſs in their Camp by the Fire from the Place, for the Shot from *Stampace* came ſo thick, that together with the Fire of the Cannon from the Walls, and eſpecially from a Platform on the Tower of *St. Mark*, they were galled to ſuch a Degree that they were obliged to throw up high Banks before them, or lodge in Ditches.

THE Siege went on in this Manner for ſeveral Days, and tho' a large Breach had been made in the Wall of *St. Antonio a Stampace*, and that Fort was ſo ſhattered that the General imagined it might be carried without much Difficulty, yet the more to facilitate an Attack, and aſſure himſelf of the Succeſs, he continued widening

widening the Breaches from *Stampace* to the Sea-gate, till at laſt all Communication with that Fort was cut off, and it ſtood quite without the Rampart, which had been erected by the *Piſans* at a good Diſtance from the Walls, which gave Room for frequent Skirmiſhes between the broken Wall and the Rampart, in one of which Count *Rinuccio* received a Muſket Shot. What the General had in View was, after the Taking of *Stampace*, to plant a Battery there, and on the Ruins of the Wall, which taking in flank all that Part of it which was defended by the Beſieged, he doubted not to be Maſter of the Place, eſpecially ſince at the ſame Time he laboured at undermining a Part of the Wall between *Stampace* and the Rampart, which was already weakened with Pickaxes, and ſupported with wooden Props, in order to make it fall towards the Rampart, and by its Ruins to fill up the Ditch, which, when they gave the Aſſault, would much facilitate it, the Town Wall being very high in that Part. A. D. 1499.

ON the other hand the *Piſans*, who

A. D. 1499. were under the Direction of *Gurlino*, had made ſome Caſemates in the Ditch towards *St. Antonio*, to prevent the Enemy from filling it up, planted a good Number of Cannon towards that Place, and poſted their Infantry before the Rampart, being reſolved in caſe of Extremity to fight Hand to Hand, and diſpute every Inch of Ground with the Enemy.

Stampace taken by Storm. ON the 10th Day of the Siege, *Vitelli*, by Break of Day, gave the Aſſault to *Stampace*, and tho' the Troops ſuffered greatly from the Artillery of the Old Citadel, he carried the Place much ſooner and eaſier than he expected, to the great Amazement of the *Piſans*, who were ſo terrified that they abandoned their Ramparts in a Panic, and ran about the Town, and many of the Citizens, among whom was *Piero Gambacorta*, with his Troop of Forty Archers on Horſeback, fled out of the Gates, and many more would have fled had not the Magiſtrates placed a Guard at the Gates. In ſhort, the Conſternation was ſo great, that if *Pagolo* had puſhed on his good Fortune he might un-

undoubtedly have put an End to the War that very Morning, and made that the moſt glorious Day of his Life, which by his own fatal Remiſſneſs and Neglect proved the Beginning and Source of all his Calamities. He ſaid, indeed, in his Excuſe, that he knew nothing of the Conſternation of the Town, and that if he had known it he had formed no other Deſign than that of taking *Stampace* that Day, and had made no Preparations for a general Aſſault. This ſeems to be the Reaſon why the Rampart was not attacked, where he would have met with no Reſiſtance, and why he remanded back to the Camp the greater Part of his Army, which on the Taking of *Stampace* had hurried thither in a tumultuous Manner, in hopes of entering the Town, and plundering it. The *Piſans*, on the News being ſpread that the Enemy ſtopt ſhort, and did not proſecute their Advantage, took heart afreſh, and being further animated by the Cries and Lamentations of their Women, conjuring them to chuſe Death rather than Slavery under the *Florentines*, returned to their Poſts on the

A. D. 1499.

A. D. 1499. Ramparts. *Gurlino*, who had undertaken the Defence of *Piſa*, obſerving that the Enemy had raiſed a Terras of Earth and Planks along the Way that leads from the Ravelin before *Stampace* to the Sea-gate, and fortified it towards the Field, but had neglected another Way to *Stampace*, he gave Orders for terraſing the ſame with all Speed in the ſame Manner, and for erecting a Platform, on which he planted a Battery, that took the Fort in Flank, and hindered all Acceſs on that Side.

PAGOLO being in Poſſeſſion of *Stampace*, raiſed a high Battery of Falconets and other ſmall Pieces, that commanded the whole Town, but did no Damage to the Ramparts, which were however pretty much ſhattered by a Battery of large Cannon planted lower; but the *Piſans* would not abandon them, but continued reſolute in their Defence; at the ſame time the Beſiegers continued to batter the Caſemate towards *St. Antonio*, and the Sea-gate, and to ruin their Outworks. The General laboured hard to fill up the Ditch with Faſcines, in order to facilitate the Attack of the Rampart.

part. On the other hand the *Piſans*, receiving a Supply of Three Hundred Foot from *Lucca* on the Night following, reſumed freſh Courage, redoubled their Efforts, and threw Pots of Wildfire on the Enemy's Workmen. Having fruſtrated this Attempt, the main Point they now had in View was to force the Beſiegers to abandon the Fort of *Stampace*. For this Purpoſe they mounted a very large Piece of Cannon called the *Bufalo*, and pointing it againſt the Fort, after a few Shot it diſmounted the high Battery; and tho' *Pagolo* had directed ſome Pieces of Cannon to play upon it, which did ſome Damage to is Mouth, but it continued to fire, till in a few Days it had ſhattered the Fort to ſuch a Degree, that *Pagolo* thought fit at laſt to remove his Cannon and abandon the Place. Nor had he better Succeſs at the Wall he had weakened with Pick-axes, for the *Piſans* having countermined it on the Inſide, in order to make it fall off from the Ditch, when, after removing the Props, he expected it to tumble down, it ſtood immovable. A. D. 1499.

A. D. 1499. IN ſpite of theſe Diſadvantages *Vitelli* did not deſpair of carrying his Point at laſt, and making himſelf Maſter of the Place; for which End, indulging his natural Temper, he reſolved to proceed ſlowly, tho' the more ſecurely, in order to ſave the Lives of his Men as much as poſſible. And therefore, tho' there were in many Places Breaches of above One Hundred Foot, he continued to enlarge his Batteries, to fill up the Ditches with Earth, and to repair the Fort of *Stampace*, in order to plant on it a new Battery, which might take in Flank the great Rampart which the *Piſans* had erected. In ſhort he tried the utmoſt of his Skill and Art for obtaining a fair Opportunity of giving a general and regular Aſſault, with the ſureſt Proſpect of Succeſs, and at the leaſt Expence of Blood. But theſe dilatory Proceedings were no way ſatisfactory to the *Florentines*, who were very uneaſy at the leaſt Delay, and continually teazed him with Letters and Meſſages, urging him to be expeditious and haſten the Attack, leſt ſome Impediment, which might

might ariſe every Hour, ſhould be thrown in his Way. A. D. 1499.

THIS Conduct of the General, tho' perhaps prudent, and agreeable to the Rules of military Diſcipline, proved thro' his ill Fortune to be the Cauſe of his Deſtruction. The Territory of *Piſa* being full of ſtanding Pools and Marſhes between the City and the Sea, is ſubject at this Seaſon of the Year to peſtilential Winds, and eſpecially in that Part where the *Florentines* were encamped, and in the Space of Forty-eight Hours a violent Fever was propagated through the Army, ſo that when *Pagolo* came to give the Aſſault on the 23d of *Auguſt*, he found ſo great a Number of ſick and enfeebled Perſons, that he had not Men enough left to go upon it. The *Florentines*, and the General, who himſelf laboured under the common Diſorder, endeavoured to remedy this Inconvenience by liſting new Men; but the Diſtemper raged ſo violent that the Diminution every Day much exceeded the Supplement. At laſt *Pagolo* giving over all Hopes of Succeſs, and Sickneſs in *Pagolo's* Camp.

A. D. 1499. apprehenſive of being attacked himſelf, thought it neceſſary to raiſe the Siege; which was contrary to the Opinion of many of the *Florentines*, who were for placing a good Garriſon in *Stampace*, and continuing in their fortified Camp near *Piſa*. But *Vitelli* would by no Means hearken to their Advice, for *Stampace* had been ſo ſhattered and damaged by his own Cannon and that of the Beſieged, that it was not tenable. He therefore on the 4th of *September* broke up his Camp, and abandoned the Place, directing his March along the Road that goes to the Sea; and as it was thought impracticable to convey the Artillery by Land to *Caſcina*, becauſe the Waters had ſpoiled the Roads, it was embarked at the Mouth of the *Arno*, in order to be tranſported to *Livorno*. But here the ſame ill Fortune attended this as did all his other Undertakings, for Part of the Cannon was ſunk, and a ſhort time after recovered by the *Piſans*, who at the ſame time retook the Tower that guarded the Mouth of the *Arno*.

Siege of *Piſa* raiſed.

THESE

A. D. 1499.

THESE repeated Misfortunes augmented the ill Opinion which the *Florentines* had before conceived of *Vitelli* to ſuch a Height, that a few Days after being ſummoned by the Commiſſaries to *Caſcina*, on Pretence of conſulting about the Diſtribution of the Troops into their ſeveral Quarters, he was there arreſted by Order of the ſuperior Magiſtracy, and ſent to *Florence*, where he was the ſame Night ſeverely put to the Queſtion, and the next Day beheaded. *Vitellozzo* his Brother narrowly eſcaped the ſame Fate; for the Commiſſaries had the ſame Inſtant ſent to apprehend him; but he, infirm as he was, of the Sickneſs contracted before *Piſa*, feigning Obedience to their Orders, got out of Bed, and while he was dreſſing himſelf, ſome of his Domeſtics who got about him provided a Horſe, which he mounted with their Aſſiſtance, and got ſafe to *Piſa*, where he was received with open Arms. *

Pagolo arreſted, tortured, and beheaded.

Vitellozzo eſcapes to *Piſa*.

THE

* *Vitellozzo*, while he was delaying to dreſs himſelf, that he might give Time for his Friends to come about him, ſaw ſome of his Lances among the Spectators, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he forced his Way, and got ſafe to *Piſa*. *Buonacorſi*.

A. D. 1499.

Articles againſt *Vitelli*.

THE principal Articles laid to *Vitelli*'s Charge were, That it was owing to his Want of Will that *Piſa* was not taken, which might have been done the ſame Day that the Fort of *Stampace* was taken: That for the ſame Reaſon he ſo long delayed to give the Aſſault: That he had received frequent Meſſages from *Piſa* without communicating the Subject to the Commiſſaries: That he had raiſed the Siege of *Piſa*, and abandoned *Stampace*, contrary to expreſs Orders: That in order to have the Diſpoſal of the public Money, he had put the Republic to unneceſſary Charges, by employing ſeveral other Commanders in taking of *Caſcina*, *Vico Piſano*, and the Artillery, which he might have done by himſelf without their Aſſiſtance: That whilſt he was in the *Caſentino* he held private Correſpondence with the *Medici*, and at the ſame time negotiated and as good as concluded a Treaty with the *Venetians*, by which he was to enter into their Service at the Expiration of his Term of Agreement with the *Florentines*, which was near at hand; that did not take

take effect becauſe the *Venetians*, having concluded a Peace with the *Florentines*, had no occaſion for his Service; but that, in conſideration of this Agreement, he had granted a Paſs to the Duke of *Urbino* and *Giuliano de' Medici*. Theſe were the Crimes laid to his Charge, but he confeſſed nothing in particular, while he was under the Torture, that could affect his Life; his Execution was haſtened for fear that the King of *France*, who was arrived at *Milan*, ſhould demand him to be ſet at Liberty. After his Death ſome of his Intimates, who had paſſed under a longer Examination, confeſſed no more than that *Pagolo* thought he had many Reaſons to be diſſatisfied with the *Florentines*, as particularly their Partiality in favour of Count *Rinuccio*, the Difficulties they made in ſending him the Supplies which he from time to time demanded, and the ſcandalous Reports ſpread in *Florence* of his Conduct, to the great Injury of his Reputation. Upon the whole, tho' ſome may continue to think that he had not diſcharged his Office with juſt Fidelity, and that he aſpired to the Sovereignty

A. D. 1499.

of

A. D. 1499. of *Piſa*, or to make himſelf Maſter of ſome Part of the *Florentine* Dominions, where he had great Friends and Intereſt, yet the major Part were of the more charitable Side, and of Opinion that he uſed his beſt Endeavours to take *Piſa*, which he was ſenſible would have procured him immenſe Glory, it being the chief Concern of great Captains to embrace all Opportunities of acquiring Honour and Fame.

King of *France* addreſſed by the reſt of the *Italian* Potentates.

THE King of *France* being arrived at *Milan*, received the Addreſſes and Congratulations of all the Potentates of *Italy*, except King *Federigo*, either in proper Perſon, or by their Ambaſſadors; ſome congratulating him on his Conqueſt, ſome vindicating themſelves from the Charge of having favoured *Lodovico*, and others to ſettle with his Majeſty their future Operations. They were all graciouſly received, and the King entered into Engagements with each of them, but of a different kind according to the Diverſity of their Circumſtances, by which he might promiſe himſelf more or leſs Advantage from their

their Friendſhip. Among the reſt the Marquis of *Mantua* was received into his Protection, had the Command of One Hundred Lances given him, with a handſome Salary, and was honoured with the Order of St. *Michael*. * The Duke of *Ferrara* was alſo received under the royal Protection. Both theſe Princes waited on his Majeſty in Perſon, but it was not without ſome Difficulty and Expence that the Duke got himſelf intitled to the royal Favour; for ever ſince he had conſigned the Caſtelletto of *Genoa* into the Hands of *Lodovico*, he was regarded as a Perſon diſaffected to the *French* Intereſt. *Giovanni Bentivoglio* deputed his Son *Annibale* to pay his Reſpects and crave the royal Protection, which was not granted without a Sum of Money. But the *Florentines* found it more difficult and expenſive to compound Matters; all their paſt Services were forgot, and no regard paid to all they had ſuffered for the *French* Cauſe in the Times of the late King. The whole Court ſeemed to be ſet againſt them, and

A. D. 1499.

* The Marquis only accepted of the Order of *St. Michael*, refuſing the military Place, and a yearly Penſion of Twelve Thouſand Livres. *Mario Equicola.*

A. D. 1499. and turned the deaf Ear to all they had to plead in juſtification of their Neutrality, to which, they ſaid, they had been neceſſitated, that they might not make an Adverſary of *Lodovico* in the Affair of *Piſa*. What paſſed in the memorable Tranſaction, when King *Charles* ſet the *Piſans* at Liberty, had made a deep Impreſſion on the Minds of the *French*, and the Fame of their glorious Reſiſtance begot an Eſteem and Affection, and prepoſſeſſed the military Men in their Favour. The Authority alſo of *Gianjacopo Trivulzio* was of no ſmall Prejudice to the *Florentines* at this Juncture, for that old Captain, aſpiring to the Sove. ignty of *Piſa*, favoured the Cauſe of the *Piſans*, who were diſpoſed to accept of him or any one elſe that could defend them againſt the *Florentines*. The Ambaſſadors alſo met with bitter Reflections from the whole Court on account of the Death of *Pagolo Vitelli*, and were told that their Maſters had, without any juſt Reaſon, cut off the Head of that valiant Captain, to whom the Crown of *France* lay under Obligations, for his Brother had been killed, and himſelf

ſelf taken Priſoner, while they were in the Service of King *Charles* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But *Lewis* did not ſo far indulge his Reſentments, as not to let Reaſons of State prevail over vain and popular Prejudices, and therefore Matters were compounded, and the *Florentines* alſo received under the royal Protection, * the King obliging himſelf to aſſiſt them with Six Hundred Lances and Four Thouſand Foot, againſt all Invaders, and the *Florentines* reciprocally engaging to ſupply his Majeſty with Four Hundred Men at Arms and Three Thouſand Foot for the Defence of his Dominions in *Italy*: Further, it was agreed that on the firſt Demand of the *Florentines* the King ſhould furniſh them with the aforeſaid Number of Lances and a ſufficient Quantity of Artillery for the Recovery of *Piſa*, and of thoſe Lands and Territories taken from

A. D. 1499.

Articles of the League between the King and the *Florentines*.

* *Buonacorſi*, in his Account of this Treaty or League, condemns the Dilatorineſs of the *Florentines*, who might have obtained what Conditions they pleaſed of the King while he was in *France*; but after he came to *Milan* and ſaw himſelf a Conqueror, he naturally roſe in his Demands, and they were forced to purchaſe this League with a round Sum of Money, and with little Benefit to the Commonwealth.

A. D. 1499. from them by the *Seneſe* and *Luccheſe*, but not of thoſe held by the *Genoeſe*: That if they did not demand of the King the Auxiliaries ſtipulated, before his Enterprize againſt *Naples*, he ſhould be obliged when he undertook that Expedition to ſend all or part of them againſt the *Piſans*; and they engaged, if *Piſa* at that Time ſhould be recovered, and not otherwiſe, to join the Royal Army with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and advance Fifty Thouſand Ducats towards the Maintenance of Five Thouſand *Swiſs* for Three Months, beſides Repayment of Thirty-ſix Thouſand Ducats lent them by *Lodovico*, deducting from the ſaid Sum what *Trivulzi* ſhall declare to have been paid or expended on his account. Laſtly, that they ſhould elect for their Captain-General the Prefect of *Rome*, who was Brother to the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, at whoſe Inſtance this Demand was made.

THE Pope, whoſe Ambition would not ſuffer him to lie dormant at ſo fair an Opportunity, now thought it a fit Time to inſiſt on the performance of the Promiſes by

by which the King was engaged to aſſiſt Duke *Valentino* againſt the Vicars of *Romagna*. The Duke, who had accompanied his Majeſty out of *France*, in conſequence of this Requeſt, was put at the Head of Three Hundred Lances under *Ivo d'Allegri* paid by the King, and Four Thouſand *Swiſs* commanded by the Bailiff of *Dijon*, who were in the Pay of the Pope his Father. *A. D.* 1499. King aſſiſts the Pope.

THE Cities of *Romagna*, as well as other Territories of the Eccleſiaſtic State, had undergone variety of Revolutions, and been for many Years under Governors, who were in a manner independent of the *Roman* Pontiff; ſome of theſe Governors, or Vicars as they were called, paid them no Tribute in acknowledgment of their Superiority, others with Difficulty, and when they pleaſed. But all in general thought themſelves at liberty to enter into the Service of other Princes, without aſking leave of the Pope, or ſo much as excepting themſelves from bearing Arms againſt the holy See; but on the contrary were obliged to defend thoſe Princes State of the Cities of *Romagna*.

A. D. 1499. againſt the pontifical Arms and Authority. The Service of theſe Vicars was very much coveted, for, beſides their Power and Strength, which was conſiderable, their Country lay very convenient for diſtreſſing the Pope, and checking the Growth of the eccleſiaſtical Power and Influence. At this time the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* were in the Hands of the *Venetians*, who had many Years before wreſted them from the *Polenta* Family, who from private Citizens had made themſelves Tyrants * of their Country, and were afterwards acknowledged as Vicars of the holy See. *Faenza*, *Furli*, *Imola*, and *Rimini*, had each their particular Vicars; *Ceſena*, which had long been in Subjection to the Family of the *Malateſti*, had lately, ſince the Death of *Domenico Malateſta*, returned under the Obedience of the Church. But the Pope pretending that theſe Cities were, for many Reaſons, devolved to the holy See, was reſolved to reduce them to their antient Subjection, tho' in reality he deſigned them for his Son *Cæſar*, and had with

* The *Italians* gave the Name of *Tyrants* to them and their Deſcendants who obtained the Sovereignty of a City by Force.

with this View ſtipulated with the *French* King that, after the Conqueſt of *Milan* he ſhould lend him his Aſſiſtance for recovering thoſe Cities which were in the Hands of the Vicars, amongſt which was *Peſaro* then in poſſeſſion of *Giovanni Sforza*, formerly Son-in-law to his Holineſs. But the preſent Grandeur of the *Venetians* deterred him from entertaining any thoughts of aſſerting his Claims to the Cities in their Poſſeſſion, nor did he think it convenient at that time to mention his Title to ſome little Places on the *Po*, that were in the Poſſeſſion of the Duke of *Ferrara*. But *Valentino*, at the Head of the aforeſaid *French* Troops, and thoſe of the eccleſiaſtical State, marched into *Romagna*, and immediately made himſelf Maſter of *Imola*, which City ſurrendered to him the latter End of *December*, 1499 †. A. D. 1499.

THIS Year, ſo fruitful of Events, and remarkable Revolutions in *Italy*, will be alſo memorable for an Irruption of the *Turks* into the *Venetian* Borders. For *Bajazet*, the *Ottoman* Emperor, having with *Turkiſh* Incurſion.

† On the 29th of *December*. *Buonacorſi*.

A. D. 1499. a powerful Fleet, laid Siege by Sea to the *Venetian* maritime Towns in *Greece*, detached Six Thouſand Horſe to ravage the Province of *Friuli*. The *Turks* finding the Country unguarded, as expecting no ſuch Viſit, plundered and burnt all that came in their Way as far as *Liquentia*, and returning with an infinite number of Priſoners as far as the Banks of the River *Tiglia-vento*, for the better Speed ſelecting as many as they could conveniently carry with them, moſt cruelly maſſacred all the reſt. Nor were the *Venetian* Affairs well managed in *Greece*, for *Antonio Grimano*, the Captain General of the *Venetian* Fleet in thoſe Parts, was accuſed of neglecting an Opportunity of deſtroying the *Turkiſh* Fleet when it came out of Port *Sapientia*, and again at the Mouth of the Gulph of *Lepanto*. The Senate after appointing him a Succeſſor, ſent him a Summons to appear at *Venice*, and committed his Cauſe to the Cognizance of the Council of the *Pregadi*, who had it under Examination many Months, his Authority and Greatneſs bearing him up, and pleading ſtrongly for him againſt a Multitude of Arguments

Venetian Admiral faulty,

Tried,

and

and Witneſſes produced by his Accuſers. *A. D.* 1499. At laſt it appearing that the Authority of the Accuſed, and the Multitude of his Relations pleaded hard for his Acquittal, or becauſe the Council of *Pregadi*, in whirh were many Perſons of great Prudence, had no Regard to common Report or ill grounded Calumnies, but apply'd themſelves ſeriouſly to find out the Truth, the Cauſe was by the Magiſtracy of Advocates of the Community referred to the Cognizance of the Grand Council, where, either his Friends having no Sway, or that greater Deference was paid to the Prejudices of the clamorous Multitude, than to the Dictates of ſenatorial Gravity, his Fate was at length determined, tho' not till the End of the enſuing Year; when he was condemned to perpetual Baniſhment in the Iſle of *Oſſaro*. And ſentenced.

WE are now entring on the Year 1500 as fruitful of Events as the former, and alſo memorable for the plenary Remiſſion of the Jubilee, firſt inſtituted by the Popes to be celebrated, according to the Example of the Old Teſtament, every hun- 1500

A. D. 1500. dredth Year, not with Pomp and Paſtimes, as was the Manner of the old *Romans* in their ſecular Games, but for the Salvation of Souls. For at this Time, according to the pious Belief of the chriſtian People, there is granted a full Remiſſion of all Sins, to ſuch as confeſs them with ſincere Repentance, and viſit the Churches dedicated to the Princes of the Apoſtles at *Rome*. This Jubilee has ſince been ordered to be celebrated every fiftieth Year; and at laſt reduced to the Twenty Fifth, tho' out of Reſpect to the Memory of its firſt Inſtitution, the hundredth Year is celebrated by a much greater Concourſe of People.

In the beginning of this Year *Valentino* took poſſeſſion of the City of *Furli* without Oppoſition. The Lady Governeſs of the Place ſending away her Children and her richeſt Effects to *Florence*, and abandoning the reſt which ſhe was not able to preſerve, was reduced to make the beſt of her Defence in the Cittadel and Caſtle, which were well provided with Men and Artillery. She betook herſelf to the Cittadel,

del, and being a Woman * of a brave and manly Spirit, ſhe made a Reſiſtance which redounded very much to her Honour. *Valentino* having tried in vain to induce her to ſurrender, raiſed a great Battery againſt the Cittadel, which beat down a good Part of the Wall, that drew after it much of the Rampart, and filled up the Ditch ſo far as to make the Breach eaſy to be mounted. But the Beſieged were ſo much terrified, that they abandoned the Defence, and endeavoured to retire into the Caſtle. The Lady uſed her utmoſt Effort to ſtop the Retreat, and animate her Men, but was born down by the Crowd, and the Enemy breaking in upon them, under the preſent Hurry and Confuſion, cut moſt of them to pieces before the Gate, and entering pell mell among the reſt into the Caſtle put all to the Sword, except a few of the Chief, who with the Lady retired into a Tower, and were

A. D. 1500.

Manly Behaviour of a Lady.

* This Heroine was Madam *Caterina Sforza Riaria*, Wife of *Girolamo Riario*, and afterwards of *Giovanni de' Medici*. Some write that when *Valentino* threatened, if ſhe did not ſurrender the Cittadel, to kill her Children, ſhe took up her Coats, and ſhewing her Nakedneſs, ſaid, "Here, Duke, ſee the ſame Mould for caſting more!"

A. D. 1500. made Priſoners. *Valentino* conſidering her Valour more than her Sex, ſent her Priſoner to *Rome*, where ſhe was kept in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, till at the Interceſſion of *Ivo d'Allegri*, ſhe was ſet at Liberty.

VALENTINO, having made himſelf Maſter of *Imola* and *Furli*, proceeded with an Intent to make further Conqueſts, but was ſtopt in his Career by new and unforeſeen Accidents. For the King of *France*, after giving what Orders he thought proper for the Adminiſtration of his new Acquiſition, leaving ſufficient Garriſons in the *Milaneſe*, and prolonging the Truce with the King of the *Romans* till the *May* enſuing, including in it the Dutchy of *Milan*, and all that the *French* poſſeſſed in *Italy*, returned into *France*. He took with him the little Son of *Giovan Galeazzo*, whom his Mother imprudently committed to his Care, and whom he afterwards placed in a Monaſtery, and left the Government of *Milan* to *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, in whom he repoſed an entire Confidence, both on account of his Valour, and other Merits, as well as for his Enmity to *Lodovico Sforza*.

BUT

A. D. 1500.

BUT the King could not leave behind him a faithful Diſpoſition in the Minds of his new Subjects, many of whom were diſguſted at the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *French*, others found themſelves diſappointed in their Expectations of the royal Bounty, and of an Exemption from all Taxes whatever, as the unthinking Populace had fondly perſuaded themſelves. Multitudes were highly diſſatisfied at the Promotion of *Trivulzi*, the Head of the Faction of the *Guelfs*, to the Government of *Milan*, where the *Ghibelline* Faction was very powerful both in the Capital and all over the Dutchy. And this ill Diſpoſition was exaſperated by the bad Management of the Governor, who was of a factious, proud and reſtleſs Temper, and favoured and countenanced with the Authority of the chief Magiſtrate, much more than was convenient, thoſe of his own Party. Beſides he was abhorred by the Populace for killing with his own Hand in the public Shambles ſome Butchers, who had the Impudence, in common with other ſorts of Vulgar, to refuſe

Milaneſe uneaſy under the *French* Government.

Payment

A. D. 1500. Payment of the Duties from which they were not exempted, and were ſo raſh as to oppoſe with Force of Arms the Entrance of the Officers appointed to collect them. On account of theſe Grievances the major Part of the Nobility, and the whole Body of the common People, who are by Nature greedy of Novelties, longed after *Lodovico*'s Return, talked of the ſame in public, and ſounded his Name aloud in the open Streets.

In the mean time the Duke of *Milan*, and his Brother the Cardinal had waited on *Cæſar*, and met with a gracious and honourable Reception. That Prince ſhewed much Concern for their Misfortunes, commiſerated their afflicted Condition, and made them repeated Promiſes of his marching in Perſon at the Head of a powerful Army for the Recovery of their Eſtate, ſince he had now put an effectual End to his War with the *Swiſs*. But ſuch was his known Ficklenes of Temper, and his Manner of confounding his ill concerted Projects one with another, that their Hopes diminiſhed daily; and as he was labouring under

under his uſual Neceſſities, without any Regard to their preſent Diſtreſs, he was continually borrowing Money of them. The Duke then and the Cardinal, being weary of flattering themſelves with vain Hopes, and being encouraged by the continual Sollicitations of Numbers of People of Quality in *Milan*, reſolved to undertake the Work by themſelves, with the Help of Eight Hundred *Swiſs*, and Five Hundred Men at Arms of *Burgundy* which they had inliſted. *Trivulzi*, well informed of their Motions, was alarmed, and immediately diſpatched an Expreſs to *Venice* to ſollicit the ſpeedy March of the *Venetian* Troops to the River *Adda*, and another to *Ivo d'Allegri*, with Letters, importing that it was neceſſary for him to withdraw from *Valentino* with the *French* Men at Arms and *Swiſs* under his Command, and march with all Speed for *Milan*; and that the Enemy might meet with Reſiſtance at their firſt Attempt, he ordered part of the Army to *Como*, his Jealouſy of the Inhabitants of *Milan* not ſuffering him to ſend his whole Force.

A. D. 1500.

Lodovico recalled.

But

A. D. 1500.

BUT the Diligence of the two Brothers defeated all his Meaſures; for without waiting till all their Troops were aſſembled, they ſet out with ſuch as were ready, leaving Orders for the reſt to follow Party after Party, and after paſſing the Mountains with incredible Speed they embarked on the Lake of *Como*, and appearing off that City, the *French*, who knew the Diſpoſition of the *Comeſe*, forſook the Place, and the *Sforzas* were immediately received. The News of the Loſs of *Como* raiſed ſuch Commotions in the People of *Milan*, and in almoſt all the Heads of the *Ghibelline* Faction, that Tumults ſoon followed, which *Trivulzi* finding himſelf too weak to ſuppreſs, had no Way left but to retire with all Speed into the Caſtle, and the Night following, together with ſome Men at Arms, who had retired into the *Barco*, adjoining to the Caſtle, he took his Way towards *Novara*, perſecuted by a tumultuous Mob with Inſults and Execrations as far as the River *Teſino*. He left Four Hundred Lances at *Novara*, and threw himſelf with the reſt into *Mortara*, where

Lodovico recovers Como.

Milan quitted by the French.

where he and the reſt of the Officers employed their Thoughts more on the Manner of recovering the Dutchy of *Milan*, when Succours ſhould arrive from *France*, than on preſerving it with their preſent Force. *A. D.* 1500.

THE *French* having thus quitted *Milan*, firſt the Cardinal, and afterwards *Lodovico* himſelf made their Entrance into that Capital, and took full Poſſeſſion of all, except the Caſtle, with as much Eaſe as it had been loſt, the People expreſſing more Joy and Pleaſure at his Return than they had done at his Departure. *Pavia* and *Parma* declared for him without Delay, and *Lodi* and *Piacenza* would have followed their Example, had not the *Venetians*, who were advanced to the *Adda*, haſtily entered thoſe Places. *Aleſſandria*, and almoſt all the Towns beyond the *Po*, as they were farther diſtant from *Milan*, and nearer *Aſti*, a City which belonged to the King, remained in Peace, and attentive to the further Progreſs of Affairs, by which they might take their Meaſures with more Safety and Advantage.

Lodovico recovers the City of *Milan*.

Pavia and *Parma* proclaims *Lodovico*.

LODOVICO

A. D. 1500.

LODOVICO having recovered *Milan*, applied himſelf with all Speed to the Levying of a good Body of *Italian* Foot, and as many Men at Arms as he could procure; and ceaſed not ſolliciting by Intreaties, Offers, and all manner of Hopes, every one whom he thought of Ability, or inclined to aſſiſt him in his preſſing Neceſſity. He deputed Cardinal *Sanſeverino* to *Cæſar*, to notify his proſperous Beginning, and intreat a Supply of Men and Artillery. And as he would by no Means have the *Venetian* Senate his Enemies, he gave Orders for Cardinal *Aſcanio* to diſpatch without Delay the Biſhop of *Cremona* to *Venice*, to make an Offer of Reconciliation, which he was heartily willing to procure upon whatever Terms they ſhould pleaſe to preſcribe. But the Biſhop found the Senate inflexible, for they were determined not to depart from their Confederacy with *France*. The *Genoeſe*, tho' earneſtly ſollicited, refuſed to return under his Dominion; nor would the *Florentines* comply with his Demand of repaying him what they had borrowed.

Lodovico unſucceſsful with the Venetians, Florentines, and Genoeſe.

Only

Only the Marquis of *Mantua* ſent his Brother with ſome Men at Arms to his Aſſiſtance; and theſe were accompanied by the Lords of *Mirandola*, *Carpi*, and *Correggio*. The *Seneſe* remitted him a ſmall Sum of Money; but theſe were but ſcanty Supplies to a Man in his Condition; as were alſo thoſe of *Filippo Roſſo*, and the *Verminеſchi*. The Fathers of theſe Noblemen had been deprived of their Dominion by *Lodovico*, the *Roſſi* in particular of *San Secondo*, *Torchiara*, and many other Seats in the *Parmeſan*; and the *Verminеſchi* of the City of *Bobbio*, and other circumjacent Places in the Mountains of *Piacenza*. But now *Filippo* left the *Venetian* Service without Leave, in order to recover his Patrimony, which he effected, and then joined *Lodovico* with his Troops; the ſame Means were uſed by the *Verminеſchi* to regain what belonged to them, both Parties laying hold of this Occaſion to work themſelves into the Duke's Favour. A. D. 1500.

Lodovico having aſſembled Fifteen Hundred Men at Arms beſides the *Burgundian*

A. D. 1500. *gundian* Horſe, his Infantry conſiſting of the *Swiſs*, and a numerous Body of *Italian* Foot, left his Brother *Aſcanio* at the Siege of the Caſtle of *Milan*, and paſſing the *Teſino*, took Poſſeſſion of the Town and Fortreſs of *Vigevano* by Compoſition, and ſat down before *Novara*. He choſe to beſiege this Place rather than *Mortara*, either becauſe the *French* had ſtrongly fortified themſelves in *Mortara*, or becauſe he imagined that the Conqueſt of that famous and plentiful City would greatly increaſe his Reputation, and ſhorten the War; and by taking *Novara* the *French* in *Mortara* might probably be ſo diſtreſſed for want of Victuals, as to be forced to abandon the Place; or perhaps his Deſign was alſo to intercept the Paſſage of *Ivo d' Allegri*, who was returning from *Romagna* to *Novara*. That General was on his March with Duke *Valentino*, in order to beſiege *Peſaro*, but on receiving Orders from *Trivulzio*, he ſuddenly departed with all the Horſe and the *Swiſs*, and in his March near *Parma* hearing of the Rebellion of *Milan*, he redoubled his Speed, and making an Agreement with the *Parmeſans*

Novara beſieged by *Lodovico.*

Parmeſans and the *Piacentines* that he would do them no Damage, provided they would grant him free Paſſage, he made the beſt of his Way to *Tortona*. Arriving near that City he was addreſſed by the *Guelfs*, who thirſting after Revenge againſt the *Ghibellins*, repreſented to him how after that Party had returned under the Obedience of *Lodovico*, they were inſulted and turned out of their Houſes by them; but the *French* entering the Town plundered all whether Friend or Foe without Diſtinction, the *Guelfs* in vain lamenting and exclaiming that the King's moſt faithful Servants were treated no better than perfidious Enemies. From *Tortona Ivo* continued his March to *Aleſſandria*, where he was obliged to ſtay, becauſe the *Swiſs*, either for want of Pay, or out of Treachery, deſerted to the Duke of *Milan*. The Duke now finding himſelf ſtronger than his Enemies puſhed on the Siege of *Novara*, in hopes of taking the Place before the *French*, who expected Succours from their King, could be in a Condition to relieve it. His Endeavours took Effect, for the *French* Garriſon, *A. D.* 1500.

A. D. 1500. deſpairing of Relief, ſurrendered the Town upon Articles, by which they were allowed to march out of the Place with all their Effects, and be ſafely conducted to *Vercelli*. The Capitulation was punctually obſerved by *Lodovico*, tho' ſome would have perſuaded him to break it, and put the Garriſon to the Sword, as the ſureſt Means to diſable his Enemy, and not unwarranted by the Example of great Men, who have violated their Faith, for the Sake of acquiring a State; how much more lawful then muſt it be to break ones Faith for preſerving it. The City of *Novara* being reduced, *Lodovico* laid Siege to the Citadel; but it was thought that if he had marched towards *Mortara*, where was a Miſunderſtanding between *Ligni* and *Trivulzio*, the *French* would have retired on the other Side of the *Po*.

Novara ſurrendered to *Lodovico*.

The *French* King makes Preparations to recover *Milan*.

But while *Lodovico* was thus active and diligent in improving his good Fortune, the King was no leſs eager and ſollicitous to repair his Loſſes. As ſoon as he had received Advice of the Rebellion of *Milan*, burning with Shame and Indignation,

tion, he immediately diſpatched *Tremouille* with Six Hundred Lances for *Italy*, gave Orders for raiſing a great Body of *Swiſs*, and for the greater Expedition in providing all things neceſſary, he appointed the Cardinal of *Rouen* his Intendant-General on this Side the Mountains, and ordered him to ſet out immediately for *Aſti*. The Preparations were ſo haſtened, that by the Beginning of *April* the King had in *Italy* an Army of Fifteen Hundred Lances, Ten Thouſand *Swiſs*, and Six Thouſand *French* under the Command of *La Tremouille*, *Trivulzi*, and *Ligni*. All theſe Troops aſſembled together at *Mortara*, and thence marched towards *Novara*, depending as much on Treachery as open Force; for the chief Officers of the *Swiſs* that were in *Lodovico*'s Army, tho' they had behaved both bravely and faithfully in the Siege of *Novara*, entered now into a private Combination with the chief Officers of their Countrymen that were in the *French* Army, which *Lodovico* beginning to ſuſpect, gave Orders for the March of Four Hundred Horſe and Eight Thouſand Foot from *Milan* to reinforce his Army. The

A. D. 1500.

A. D. 1500. *Swiſs* that were in *Novara* now began to be tumultuous at the Inſtigation of their Officers, and took Occaſion to murmur becauſe they were diſappointed of their Pay on the Day it was promiſed. But the Duke immediately flying to the Place where the Tumult was, uſed ſuch kind and fair Speeches, intermixed with Prayers and Intreaties, as really moved Compaſſion; and by making them a Preſent of all his Plate, prevailed on them to wait till the Money arrived from *Milan*. But the *Swiſs* Officers being apprehenſive that if the Duke's Army ſhould be reinforced by the Troops from *Milan*, the Execution of their treacherous Deſigns might be prevented, took care that the *French* Army ſhould preſent itſelf in order of Battle before the Walls of *Novara*, ſurrounding a great Part of it, while they poſted a Body of Horſe between that City and the River *Teſino*, to prevent the Duke or any other from eſcaping to *Milan*. The Duke finding every Hour more and more Reaſon to think himſelf betrayed, reſolved to march with his Army out of *Novara*, and give the Enemy Battle, having

having already ordered out his light Horſe, and the *Burgundians* to begin the Fight. But his Meaſures were flatly contradicted and oppoſed by the *Swiſs* Commanders, who proteſted that it was not lawful for them to fight againſt their own Brothers, near Relations, and Countrymen, without Leave firſt obtained from their Superiors. And ſoon after intermixing with the other *Swiſs*, as if they made but one Army, they declared their Reſolution to ſet out immediately for their own Country. Nor could *Lodovico*, with all his Prayers, Tears, and infinite fair Promiſes, divert them from this barbarous Treachery, tho' he beſought them, in the moſt ſupplicant Manner, that they would, at leaſt, conduct him into a Place of Safety. But theſe obdurate Wretches having before agreed with the *French* Generals to march

A. D. 1500.

* *Lodovico* betrayed by his *Swiſs*.

* Some would excuſe the *Swiſs* in this Affair, alledging that they are prohibited by their Law, under the ſevereſt Penalties, to appear in Arms againſt the public Standard of the League; and becauſe the *Swiſs* in *Lodovico*'s Army had been privately liſted, but thoſe in the *French* Service under the public Banner of the League, conſequently the former were not at Liberty to act againſt their Countrymen on the other Side without rebelling againſt their Laws.

A. D. 1500. off, and leave him behind, his Requeſt was not granted. All he could obtain was, to dreſs himſelf like a *Swiſs* private Centinel, and to take his Chance, if he was not known, to eſcape. This Propoſal he accepted as his only Refuge in this utmoſt Diſtreſs; but, alas! it proved inſufficient for his Security. For as the *Swiſs* were marching in military Order through the *French* Army, he was, by the Vigilance of thoſe who were appointed to watch, or by the Indication of the *Swiſs* themſelves, diſcovered as he was marching a-foot in the midſt of a Battalion, clothed and armed like a *Swiſs*, and immediately made a Priſoner; a miſerable Spectacle! which drew Tears even from the Eyes of many that were his Enemies. With him were taken *Galeazzo da San Severino*, *Fracaſſa*, and *Antonmaria*, his Brothers, diſguiſed in the ſame Manner among the *Swiſs*. The *Italian* Soldiers were all ſeized and ſtript, either in *Novara*, or in their Flight towards the *Teſino*. But the *Burgundian* Horſe, and the *German* Foot were civilly diſmiſſed, the *French* not thinking fit to affront thoſe Nations.

THE

THE Duke being taken, his Army diſperſed, all Obſtacles removed, and every Place full of Flight and Terror, Cardinal *Aſcanio*, who had already forwarded the March of the Troops that were aſſembled at *Milan*, being terrefied at ſo ſad a Cataſtrophe, ſuddenly departed from *Milan*, in order to retire to ſome Place of Safety, accompanied by many of the *Ghibelline* Nobles, who having ſhewn an immoderate Zeal for *Lodovico*, deſpaired of obtaining Pardon from the *French*. But it was ordained that Treachery and ill Fortune ſhould both equally conſpire againſt the two Brothers. The Cardinal fatigued with a haſty and troubleſome Day's Journey, reſted the next Night at *Rivolta* in the *Piacentine*, a Caſtle that belongs to *Currado Lando*, a Gentleman of *Piacenza*, his Relation and intimate Friend. But *Currado*, changing his Mind with the change of Fortune, ſent immediate Notice of his Gueſt to *Carlo Orſino* and *Sonzino Benzone*, two *Venetian* Officers at *Piacenza*, and upon their Arrival with a Guard delivered him into their Hands. But *Hermes Sforza*, Brother to the late Duke

A. D. 1500.

Cardinal *Aſcanio* betrayed.

D. A. 1500. *Giovan Galeazzo*, and ſome other *Ghibelline* Gentlemen that accompanied the Cardinal, who had more wiſely conſulted their Safety than to take up their Lodging with him in the Caſtle, were paſſed forwards. *Aſcanio* was immediately conducted a Priſoner to *Venice*; but the King conſidering how much it would conduce to the Security of the Dutchy of *Milan* to have him in his own Cuſtody, peremptorily demanded him of the Senate, and upon their Demurring, proceeded to Proteſts and Menaces, claiming him as his Priſoner becauſe he was taken in a Country ſubject to his Dominion. This Demand, tho' very harſh and grating, and highly injurious to the Honour of the *Venetian* Name, yet to avoid the Fury of the *French* Army, the Senate thought beſt to comply with, and delivered him up together with all the reſt of the *Milaneſe* that had been taken with him. And as a greater Inſtance of their Obſequiouſneſs, *Battiſta Viſconte* and ſome others of the Nobles, who had fled from *Milan* on the ſame Account, and taken Refuge in the *Ghiaradadda*, and had obtained a Protection for

Delivered to the *French*.

for their Security, in which it was expreſly mentioned that they ſhould not be delivered up to the *French*, were notwithſtanding from, the ſame Motives of ſervile Awe and Dread, delivered into the King's Power. Of ſo much Influence was the Terror of the *French* Arms at that Time on the *Venetian* Senate, as to ſet aſide all Regard to the Dignity of the Republic. A. D. 1500.

THE City of *Milan*, deſtitute of all Hopes, immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to the Cardinal of *Rouen* humbly to implore Pardon. The Cardinal received them very graciouſly, and granted them a Pardon for their Rebellion in the King's Name, but on Condition of paying Three Hundred Thouſand Ducats, the greateſt Part of which the King afterwards was pleaſed to remit. After the ſame Manner did the Cardinal paſs an Indemnity for the other Cities that had rebelled, fining every one of them according to their reſpective Rank and Abilities *.

THE

* *Pavia* was fined One Hundred Thouſand Ducats, *Parma* Sixty Thouſand. *Buonacorſi.*

A. D. 1500.

THE War being thus happily ended, the Troops were diſbanded; but the *Swiſs* of the four Cantons neareſt to the Town of *Bellinzone*, ſituated among the Mountains, in their Return home, unexpectedly took Poſſeſſion of that Place. The King at firſt might have had it reſtored for a moderate Sum, but indulging his penurious Temper, to ſave a little Money, he loſt Opportunities that were of great Moment to his Affairs. For ſuch Times and Accidents happened afterwards, as made him oftentimes deſirous to purchaſe that Town at any Rate, it being a Paſs of the greateſt Importance for preventing the Deſcent of the *Swiſs* into the *Milaneſe*.

Bellinzone Surpriſed.

LODOVICO SFORZA was conducted to *Lions*, where the King was at that Time, and made his Entry into that City at Noonday amidſt an infinite Number of Spectators, who flocked from all Parts to behold a Prince ſo lately at the Height of Grandeur and Majeſty, and the Envy of the World for Happineſs, now fallen into the moſt abject State of Miſery, and not able

able to obtain the Favour, tho' he earneſtly *A. D.* 1500. deſired it, of being admitted into the King's Preſence. After two Days he was committed to the Tower of *Loches*, where he ſpent the Remainder of his Life, which was about ten Years, in a narrow Priſon, which afforded Room enough to hold the Man whoſe Thoughts and Ambition all *Italy* was ſcarce ſufficient to circumſcribe.

Lodovico ſpends the Remainder of his Life in a Priſon.

LODOVICO SFORZA was, without Queſtion, a Prince of extraordinary Wit and Eloquence, and of many other natural Endowments, and might well deſerve the Appellation of gentle and merciful, had not the Infamy of his Nephew's Death ſullied that Part of his Character. But on the other Hand it muſt be confeſſed that he was naturally vain, reſtleſs, ever full of ambitious Projects, made light of his Promiſes, or a Breach of Faith, and was ſo conceited of his Wiſdom, that he could by no means endure to hear another commended for extraordinary Prudence and Sagacity, perſuading himſelf that by his own Art and Induſtry he could dive into the Thoughts, and penetrate

His Character.

A. D. 1500. trate the Deſigns of the moſt able Politicians, and bend them to his own Purpoſes.

Cardnal *Aſcanio* confined. HIS Confinement was followed not long after by that of Cardinal *Aſcanio*, his Brother, who was received with greater Civility and Reſpect, and had the Favour to be viſited by the Cardinal of *Rouen*. He had alſo a more honourable Priſon, for he was committed to the Tower of *Bourges*, where the King who now impriſoned him had formerly lain himſelf two Years confined. So mutable and wretched is the Condition of Mortals, and ſo blind are we to future Events, and the Approaches of Fate!

The End of the Fourth BOOK, *and Second* VOLUME.

EXPLANATION of NAMES.

Pagolo	*Paul*
Caterina	*Katherine*
Ridolfo	*Rodulphus*
Cesare	*Cæsar*
Antonio	*Anthony*
Alessandria } *Alessandra* }	The same
Gian	*John*
Nicoli	*Nicholas*
Michele	*Michael*
Bartolomeo	*Bartholomew*
Anton Maria	*Anthony Mary*
Gianjacopo	*John James*

ERRATA.

Page 4. l. they had afterwards, r. they afterwards. p. 9. l. concurrence into, r. with. p. 12. l. Murone, r. Murone. p. 16. l. Colleagues, r. Confederates, p. 19. l. diſpotically, r. deſpotically. p. 27. l. Chinſi, r. Chiuſi. p. 36. l. taking, r. not taking. p. 92. l. Rizaſtro, r. Ricaſtro. l. Shira & liſenza, r. Terra nuova & Cofenza. p. 99. l. nuovo, r. uovo. p. 114. l. Meſiano, r. Marciano. p. 119. l. this Memorial, r. this Reinforcement. p. 145. l. Gugliena, r. Guglielma. p. 158. l. them, r. them that by. p. 161. l. the firſt, r. by the firſt. p. 167. l. the, r. then. p. 189. l. theſe Events, r. the Knowledge of theſe, &c. was. p. 216. l. Seneſe, r. Seneſe. p. 286. l. Poſts, r. Parts. p. 239. l. Pieva, r. Pievo. p. 263. l. I now, r. I know. p. 276. l. Verra, r. Vernia. p. 291. l. and that, r. and not. p. 300. l. Naucleto, r. Nauclero. p. 331. l. Freſco, r. Fieſco. p. 341. l. is, r. its. l. but it, r. yet it. p. 353. l. Pontiff, r. Pontiffs.

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